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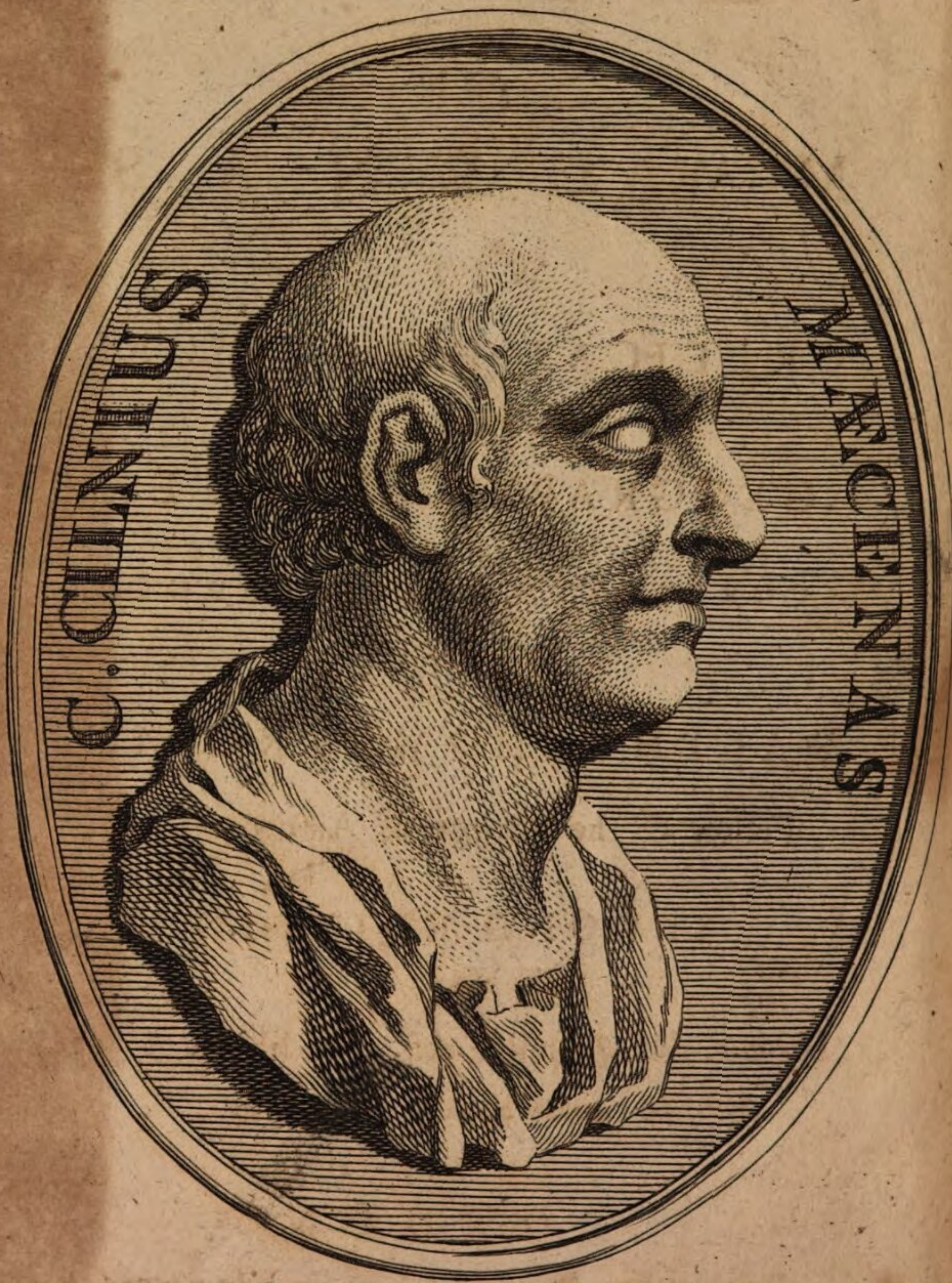
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THE
L I F E
O F
M Æ C E N A S:

WITH
CRITICAL, HISTORICAL,
AND
GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

CORRECTED AND ENLARGED
BY

RALPH SCHOMBERG, M.D.

Fellow of the Society of ANTIQUARIES.

SECOND EDITION.

Hic vir, hic est. VIRGIL. Æn. lib. vi. v 751.

Ἡσκησεν μυστῶν ἀμύγχα καὶ χαρίων.

L O N D O N:

Printed for A. MILLAR, in *The Strand*.

MDCCLXVI.

THE
 L. I. F. E.
 To the Right Honourable
 OF
 WILLIAM PITT
 SIR,
 WITH
 CRITICAL HISTORICAL
 MACEINAS claims a pa-
 tion is a nation such as the
 himself was, when in the zenith of
 his greatness: You, Sir, stand
 avowedly the foremost in that list
 because You resemble him most
 The glory of his King, the power
 of his Government and the good of the
 Roman People, were the constant
 objects of his attention: So have
 they ever been, and are still Yours
 In his Ministry He was incorrupt
 distinguished by his Court-

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To the Right Honourable

WILLIAM PITT

SIR,

MÆCENAS claims a patron; a patron such as He himself was, when in the zenith of his greatness: You, *Sir*, stand avowedly the foremost in that list; because You resemble *Him* most. The glory of his *King*, the honor of his *Country*, and the good of the *Roman People*, were the constant objects of his attention: so have they ever been, and are still Yours. In his *Ministry*, He was *uncorrupt*, *diligent* and *resolute*; in his Coun-
sels

iv DEDICATION.

sels to AUGUSTUS, open, disinterested, and sincere; in his expeditions against the enemies of ROME, cool, determined, and successful. All the world must see and acknowledge the striking likeness; his superior Talents, and surprising Abilities, secured to him, the favour of his Prince, the esteem of his Country, and the love of the People; YOURS, SIR, have had the same happy influence: He was a Scholar, an Orator, and one of the most compleat Gentlemen of the Augustan Court; accomplishments by universal consent allowed to be united in You.

I SCORN a menial compliment, and am above a servile expectation:

DEDICATION. v

tion: I have neither the happiness
nor honor to know, or to be
known to You; my address is to
Your VIRTUES, not to the *Mini-*
ster.

May You long live a *faithful*
Counsellor to the best of KINGS,
an *Ornament* to your COUNTRY,
and (what must render You more
glorious than even MÆCENAS
himself) the great CHAMPION and
ASSERTOR of BRITISH LIBERTY.

I am, SIR,
with the most profound respect,

Your very obedient and most

humble servant,

Bath, Jan. 27.

1766. RALPH SCHOMBERG.

PREFACE

THE lives of great men, where facts appear in their own proper color, where events are described such as they really happened; where virtue and bravery, learning and humanity, are most agreeably drawn from the life, and not from the imagination of the Biographer, must afford a very pleasing entertainment. They not only give a true idea of what those virtues are, but they direct to the means by which they are to be attained. We see the facility of arriving at true happiness, if we will but imitate the examples and actions of men, whose names are esteemed

and

P R E F A C E.

TH E lives of great men, where *facts* appear in their own proper color, where *events* are described such as they really happened ; where *virtue* and *bravery*, *learning* and *humanity*, are most agreeably drawn from the life, and not from the imagination of the *Biographer*, must afford a very pleasing entertainment : they not only give a true idea of what those virtues are, but they direct to the means by which they are to be attained : We see the facility of arriving at true happiness, if we will but imitate the examples and actions of men, whose names are esteemed

and handed down to posterity, because they acted as men *should do*, who would render themselves the useful members of *civil society*.

The lives of great and good men are certainly the best models for human actions; and though there are too many (such is the corrosiveness of our nature) who enviously refuse doing justice to the merit of the *living*, will profusely incense their memory when *dead*; it is *then* they will attend the *Hero* into his camp, and recount the achievements of his *Valor*; they will accompany the *Statesman* in his cabinet, and wonder at his *Ability*, *Wisdom*, and *Integrity*; they will

will attentively dwell upon his *familiar conversation*, highly pleased with his *politeness* and *affability*.

They deservedly claim a place in the records of History, who have most contributed to the happiness and welfare of human society; while, on the other hand, those *monsters* whose actions have rendered them odious, and who have been stigmatized for their enormities, ought to lie for ever buried in oblivion. What an affront to mankind are the lives of a CALIGULA, a NERO, a COMMODUS, an HELIOGABALUS! Their wickedness and extravagances have nevertheless been transmitted down to us: they are
mentioned

mentioned, it is true, but it is with indignation and abhorrence; and so far indeed, we may venture to say *History* is useful in the description even of the most unamiable characters; for, as an ancient writer says, *εν αλλοτριοις παραδειγμασι παιδευε σεαυτον, και απαθης των κακων εση*, “we may learn by the example of others, how to shun evil.” But the shining and eminent qualities of illustrious men are better adapted to inspire virtue, as they naturally excite us to imitation. They ought to descend to posterity, as an example for others who would engage in the same career. What excellent models are the reigns of an AUGUSTUS, a TITUS, a TRAJAN,

an

an ANTONINUS, a MARCUS AURELIUS, to succeeding monarchs? Those Princes studied the good of mankind, and their names are consecrated to a happy immortality. The glorious commanders and able ministers, who by their bravery and counsels have contributed to the honor of their Prince and the welfare of a people, justly merit the same honors; but when, added to these perfections, they have also cherished the Arts and Sciences, how full is then the measure of their glory! The delightful knowledge of the *Belles lettres* dignified conquerors with the title of HEROES; they temper valor and soften it into humanity: not so were
the

the GENSERICS, the ATTILAS and all those barbarian kings, who having no other views than the bloody ambition of ravaging worlds, and governing slavish nations, despised learning, destroyed all the arts and sciences, and permitted ignorance to darken the whole hemisphere over which their tyranny extended.

The *Belles lettres* are of the greatest advantage to *Princes* as well as to *Ministers*; they enlighten the mind, enlarge the understanding, and give a true notion of past transactions. No statesman ever succeeded so well as MÆCENAS; to them he stood indebted for that *moderation, prudence and wisdom,*
with

with which he governed the state in the absence of AUGUSTUS. He fixed no bounds to his love for the truly learned; he knew their merit; shewed them unlimited favors; and they never had so great a *Protector*.

It is very extraordinary that so distinguished a *Patron* of learning, and so generous a *friend* of learned men, as MÆCENAS, should want an historian! the greatest Poets, as well as the most celebrated writers of the *Augustan* age, mention him indeed with very particular respect; but this is not enough: we admire the compliments, yet know little or nothing of the person to whom they

they are paid; they should have given us a circumstantial relation of his life——there is something even in the most minute transactions of great men which delights in the recital. The name of MÆCENAS is known to all; his actions but to few only, and that but very obscurely; it is in general asserted that he was the favourite of AUGUSTUS, and the *Patron* of the *Literati*; but that he was a *brave soldier*, and an *able and expert minister*, is not so clearly understood.

It is with an intention to make Him better known that I have undertaken

dertaken his *Life*. MEIBOMIUS, a very learned *German*, has done it in latin; his book is in very few hands; he has loaded the work with such a vast number quotations and endless digressions, that the facts relating to MÆCENAS are lost in an ocean of profound criticism and learning; he is tedious and prolix; neither has he everywhere preserved a regular method as to the order of time: I have endeavoured to do this. He was, I confess, of use to me in the composition of this work, and so was the very learned *Abbè Richer*, to whom I am much indebted. I have corrected, expunged, and added some new observations, together with
all

all the critical, historical, and geographical notes.

The life of MÆCENAS being pretty much connected with that of AUGUSTUS, I have lightly interwoven such passages of that *Prince* as related to his favourite, and in which he was the chief and principal actor. I have collected all the facts with relation to my *Hero* as well as I could obtain them from ancient as well as modern authors, facts which cannot but make a better impression when reunited and brought to one point of light, than when dispersed and scattered up and down in the writings of *Poets* and *Historians*.



THE
L I F E
O F
M Æ C E N A S.

CAIUS CILNIUS MÆCENAS
(*a*), according to HORACE's ac-
count, came into the world on
the ides (*b*) (the 13th day) of April;
but where or in what year he was born,

(*a*) CAIUS was the proper name of MÆCE-
NAS, CILNIUS that of his family, and MÆCE-
NAS his surname. It was customary among the
Romans to give the family name to their chil-
dren the very next day after they were born;

is

is not known. His family was origi-

the proper name was assumed, when they put on the *Toga virilis*; and the surname distinguished the different branches of the family; this however was often given upon other occasions. Two surnames were sometimes bestowed on one and the same person; the last of which was added on account of some gallant action, or victory, as AFRICANUS, ASIATICUS, &c. VARRO, Book vii. says MÆCENAS took his name from some place; and it is conjectured that this was a burrough in *Etruria*, at some distance from the sea, of which PLINY, Book xiv. Chap. 6. making mention of the best *Italian* wines, gives us an account, in *Mediterraneo, Cæsennatia, ac Mæcenatiana*. Many Romans before our MÆCENAS were of the name. SILIUS ITALICUS, Book x. l. 39. & seq. speaks of the oldest of them, who was killed at the battle of *Cannæ*, the year of *Rome* 538, and was of the same family with our MÆCENAS.

*Oppetis, & Tyrrio super inguina fixe veruto
Mæcenas, cui Mæonia venerabile terra,
Et sceptris olim celebratum nomen Hetruscis.*

CICERO in his oration for CLUENTIUS mentions a C. MÆCENAS, a Roman knight, with great respect and deference, for having nobly opposed LIVIUS DRUSUS, a tribune of the people, in the year of *Rome* 663.

(b) THE ides were the 15th of the months of *March, May, July, and October*, and the 13th of the rest. The same style and method is ob-

ginally

ginally from *Arezzo* (c), a city in *Etru-*

served to this day at the chancery at *Rome*. JULIUS SCALIGER says, that MÆCENAS was born on the feast of FLORA. But he is mistaken; for the *Floran* games were celebrated on the 28th of *April* only. HORACE kept the birthday of MÆCENAS constantly every year. He invites PHILLIS,

*Ut tamen noris, quibus ad-voceris
Gaudiis: idus tibi sunt agendæ;
Qui dies, mensem Veneris marinæ,
Findit Aprilem.*

*Jure solennis mihi, sanctiorque
Pene natali proprio: quod ex hac
Luce Mæcenas meus affluentes*

Ordinat annos.

HOR. B. iv. Ode xi.

But why this busy festal care?
This invitation to the fair?
This day the smiling month divides,
O'er which the sea-born queen presides;
Sacred to me, and due to mirth,
As the glad hour that gave me birth:
For when this happy morn appears,
MÆCENAS counts a length of years
To roll in bright succession round,
With ev'ry joy and blessing crown'd.

FRANCIS.

(c) *Arezzo*, the antient *Aretium*, one of the twelve cities of old *Etruria*, belonging to the great Duke of Tuscany.

ria, where the CILNII lived in great power and splendor. His father, MENODORUS, descended in the male line from ELBIUS VOLTURRENUS (*d*), the

(*d*) THE poets and historians of antiquity sufficiently attest the illustrious descent of MÆCENAS:

Mæcenas, atavis edite regibus.

Hor. B. i. Ode i.

Tyrrhena regum progenies.

Id. B. iii. Ode xxix.

Mæcenas eques Etrusco de sanguine regum.

Propert. B. iii. Eleg. vii.

Mæcenas atavis regibus ortus eques.

Martial. B. xii. Epig. iv.

Tunc urbis custodiis præpositus C. Mæcenas equestri, sed splendido genere natus, says VELLEIUS PATERCULUS. A fragment of a letter from AUGUSTUS to his favourite, mentioned by MACROBIUS, B. ii. Sat. chap. 4. is a farther confirmation. Vale, mel gentium, melcule, ebur ex Etruria, laser Aretinum, adamas supernas, Tyberinum margaritum, Cilniorum smaragde, jaspi figulorum, berylle Porfennæ, &c. This insinuates moreover, that MÆCENAS was originally from *Arezzo*, and descended from the CILNII. DACIER and other learned Commen-

last

last king of that country, who sprung from PORSENNA the protector of the Tarquins. ELBIUS was slain in a battle against the *Romans*, on the banks of the lake of *Bassanello* (e), in the year of *Rome* 444. This defeat ruined the *Tuscan* interest: and TURRENUS, the son of ELBIUS, thereupon surrendered

tators disallow the royal origin of MÆCENAS, and say, to support their argument, that the word *reges* is sometimes taken for men in power, and of great fortune. But this assertion carries no weight with it. They should have proved that the authors now cited, made use of *reges* in that sense. How will they reconcile this to the passage in SILIUS ITALICUS,

Et sceptris olim celebratum nomen Etruscis.

Doth not this verse plainly imply that the ancestors of MÆCENAS, whom he is celebrating, were kings of *Eturia*?

(e) ELBIUS was overcome by the *Romans* at *Vadimonis lacum*. This, according to LEANDER ALBERTI's *Descript. Italiæ*, is the lake of *Bassanello*, near the city of that name in the *Pope's* territories, or, as FABRICIUS thinks, the lake of *Viterbo*.

his metropolis to the *Romans*. He preserved nevertheless the customs and manners of his country, and even refused to learn the language of his conquerors. In this he was followed by his descendents down to CÆCINNA VOLTURRENUS chief of the *Augurs*, his great grandson, who learnt the *Latin*. MENIPPUS was the son of this CÆCINNA, and father of MENODORUS, who, according to the opinion of some people, was engaged with JULIUS CÆSAR against POMPEY. From him descended MÆCENAS, who on the mother's side was not less illustrious; both his grandfathers (f) having commanded the *Roman* legi-

(f) MÆCENATIS patrem *Menodorum*, sunt qui scribant, qui Julio Cæsari contra Pompeium affuit, quod Appianus significare videtur. Menodori pater Menippus, Mænippi Cecinna, cujus Cato meminit in *Originibus*.

ons (g). His ancestors settling in *Rome*, were admitted into the *Equestrian Order*; a title which MÆCENAS contentedly enjoyed while he lived (b).

GYRALD. de Poet. Histor. Dialog. iv. p. 205.

Originem duxit Mæcenas ab antiquis Etruscorum regibus, cujus maternus avus & paternus, magnis legionibus imperitarunt.

Id. ibid.

(g) THE *Romans* had two sorts of legions, the great and small. The great were composed of six thousand foot, and seven hundred twenty-six horse; the small often consisted of no more than two thousand men. CICERO, *ad Atticum*. B. V. Epist. xv. calls these *exiles*: Et cum exercitum noster amicus habeat, tantum me nomen habere duarum legionum exilium.—The ancestors of MÆCENAS commanded the great legions.

*Non, quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quicquid Etruscos
Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te:*

*Nec, quod avus tibi sit maternus atque paternus,
Olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent.*

HOR. Sat. B. i. S. vi.

Though, since the *Lydians* fill'd the *Tuscan* coasts,
No richer blood than yours, *Etruria* boasts;
Though your great ancestors could armies lead,
You don't, as many do, with scorn upbraid
The man of birth unknown. FRANCIS.

(b) *Eques* verò ipse (says *Gyraldus*) sorte sua

ALTHOUGH we are not sufficiently acquainted with the nature of his education, it is not in the least to be doubted, but that particular care was taken, from his very infancy, it should be suitable to his birth and quality; since he is described, at the age of manhood, as a person not only perfectly well skilled in the *Greek* and *Roman* languages (*i*),

contentus vixit, nec voluit ordinem excedere.

See also *Dixon* and *Tacitus*.

(*i*) DOCTE sermones utriusque linguæ, says HORACE to MÆCENAS. The *Romans* studied both the *Latin* and *Greek*. For though the *Latin* was their mother tongue, they nevertheless applied themselves very closely to it, in order to write and speak it correctly. CICERO advises his son MARCUS, then at *Athens*, to join the study of *Latin* authors to those of the *Greek*, as he himself had done: Ut ipse ad meam utilitatem semper cum Græcis Latina conjunxi: neque id in philosophiâ solum, sed etiam in dicendi exercitatione feci: idem tibi censeo faciendum, ut par sis in utriusque orationis facultate. *De offic.* B. i. Chap. i.

but

but accomplished also in every other branch of polite literature; all which he could not have found leisure to have acquired, during the troubles of the civil wars, on account of his public employments. To the knowledge of the languages he joined the study of philosophy, and was particularly attached to the *Epicureans* (*k*), who were

(*k*) EPICURUS placed sovereign happiness in voluptuousness, but in such a one as was attended with prudence, and becoming the wise man. SENECA, who was one of his greatest adversaries, refuses him not this piece of justice. A body devoid of pain, and a soul without trouble, were the two chief points on which EPICURUS fixed his true happiness. But his pretended followers misapplied the word *voluptuousness*: Hoc est, says SENECA, De vitâ beata, Chap. 13.—cur ista voluptatis laudatio perniciofa sit, quia honesta præcepta intra latent: quod corrumpit, apparet. In ea quidem ipse sententia sum (invi-tis hoc vestris popularibus dicam) sancta Epicurum & recta præcipere, &, si propius accesseris, tristitia: Voluptas enim illa ad parvum & exile revocatur; & quam nos virtuti legem dicimus, eam ille dicit voluptati.—It is therefore unjust,
then

then in great vogue; especially as many persons of the first rank and distinction countenanced and composed that sect. Several excellent and valuable writings had been published about that time in support of their doctrine. He was very fond of rhetorick and poetry, and even took a particular delight in diverting *himself* with the muses: yet he never permitted his fondness for them to interfere with his military exercises (1); this testimony is given him by a writer of his own time, and which will be con-

says our Stoic, that poor EPICURUS should be so run down—Itaque non dico quod plerique nostrorum, sectam Epicuri flagitiorum magistrum esse; sed illud dico, Male audit, infamis est, & immerito. *Ibid.*

(1) PEDONIUS, in his *Epicedium*, Eleg. i. plainly says MÆCENAS went through his military exercises:

*Pallade cum doctâ Phœbus donaverat artes:
Tu decus & laudes hujus & ejus eras.*

firmed hereafter in the subsequent pages. He undoubtedly had received the same education which he recommended OCTAVIUS to bestow on the young *Roman* nobility, as we shall observe in its proper place.

WE know nothing of him during the first dawnings of his life; he never appeared with any lustre till after the death of the great JULIUS; when OCTAVIUS formed the vast design of grasping the empire of the *Roman commonwealth*. JULIUS, according to the *Roman* custom (*m*), had sent OCTAVIUS, his great nephew, a young man of an uncommon genius, to study in *Greece*.

(*m*) Er pacatis bellis civilibus ad erudiendum liberalibus disciplinis singularis indolem juvenis, Apolloniam eum in studia miserat—VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, B. ii. Chap. 59.

He

He lived at *Apollonia* (*n*), where *AGRIPPA* then happened to reside. It is conjectured that *MÆCENAS* contracted his friendship with these two illustrious *Romans* during his stay there (*o*); this intimacy was so happily and closely connected, that it lasted their lives. *OCTAVIUS* placed such a confidence in his two friends, that he did nothing without first consulting them; and they, in return, never gave him any advice, but

(*n*) THERE were many cities called *Apollonia*. This we are now speaking of was a *Corinthian* colony, situated on the western side of *Macedonia*, at the mouth of the river *Poline*; præmiffus *Apolloniam* studiis vacavit, fays *SUETONIUS De vit. Octav. Cæfar. Chap. 8.* Now called *Eriffo*.

(*o*) *MÆCENAS*, in all probability, must have been at that time eight and twenty, or thirty years of age, particularly if we are to give credit to some writers, who pretend that he was preceptor to *OCTAVIUS*.

what

what tended to advance his glory or his interest. MÆCENAS however was the greater favorite of the two; he was entrusted with all his secrets; a confidence which he well merited for his *attachment, fidelity, and discretion.*

JULIUS CÆSAR having been murdered in the senate-house, young OCTAVIUS returned to *Rome* from *Apollonia* to succeed him, as he had been adopted and constituted his heir. He publickly assumed the title of CÆSAR, and resolved to revenge the death of JULIUS. It was then he profited by the counsels of MÆCENAS, and that the great talents of this favourite minister appeared so conspicuously. He gave the first proofs of his courage, in the war the senate carried on against M. ANTONY, who

who was aiming at sovereign power, and was besieging *Modena*, in which DECIMUS BRUTUS, one of the murderers of CÆSAR, then was. The Consuls HIRTIUS and PANSA commanded the army of the republic; and young OCTAVIUS, proprætor (*p*), at the head of his father's veteran troops, who were entirely devoted to him, artfully dissembling his resentment towards the conspirators, joined the consuls against ANTONY, whose power he became jealous of. The battle of *Modena* lasted two whole days. ANTONY lost it; HIRTIUS was slain in the field by OCTAVIUS himself; and PANSA expired a few days after, of the wounds he had

(*p*) The proprætor, among the *Romans*, was an officer sent to govern a province, invested with the authority of a pretor, something like our lieutenant governors.

received

received in this action, though not without some suspicion of poison. MÆCENAS was an actor in all this terrible scene, never quitting his master's side, and by his counsel and bravery greatly contributed to the success and glory of that day (q).

(q) PROPERTIUS, B. ii. Eleg. i. assures us that MÆCENAS was at the siege of *Modena* in the *Macedonian* and *Perusian* wars, the naval fight against the younger POMPEY, and at the battle of *Actium*:

*Quod mihi si tantum, Mæcenas, fata dedissent,
Ut possem heroas ducere in arma manus;
Bellaque resque tui memorarem Cæsaris; & tu
Cæsare sub magno cura secunda fores.
Nam quoties Mutinam, aut civilia busta Philippos,
Aut canerem Siculæ classica bella fugæ,
Everfosque focos antiquæ gentis Etruscæ,
Et Ptolemææ littora capta Phari,
Aut regum auratis circumdata colla catenis,
Actiaque in sacrâ currere rostra viâ,
Te mea Musa illis semper contexerit armis,
Et sumpta & posita pace fidele caput.*

The seventh line alludes to the sacking of *Perusia*, a city of ancient *Etruria*, whither MÆCENAS accompanied his master—the eighth line seems to insinuate that he was also with OCTA-

By

By the death of the two consuls, OCTAVIUS became commander in chief of both armies. It was then, that he aspired (though not of a proper age) to the first rank in the commonwealth, and, flushed with his own consequence and victory, presumed to demand the consular dignity. The senate, who dreaded the too growing power of this young ambitious man, refused his demand. OCTAVIUS, taking fire at this affront, reconciled himself to ANTONY, and together with him and LEPIDUS formed that so well-known odious alliance the TRIUMVIRATE. They had an interview vius at the conquest of *Egypt*, though VERLEIUS expressly says that MÆCENAS was prefect of *Rome* during those last wars—*Dum ultimam bello Actiaco, Alexandrinoque Cæsar imponit manum,—tunc urbis custodiis præpositus C. MÆCENAS, &c.*—and stifled the conspiracy of young LEPIDUS.

at

at an island of the *Panaro* (*r*), near *Modena*: They were unattended; neither did OCTAVIUS advise with MÆCENAS, when he subscribed that horrid proscription, by which so many of the best *Roman* citizens lost their lives.

ANTONY and OCTAVIUS, leaving LEPIDUS at *Rome*, marched against BRUTUS and CASSIUS the chief conspirators. The two armies met near *Philippi*, a city of *Macedonia*; and fought two battles, which were very desperate, and at first uncertain in their events, till fortune, at length, determined in favour of the

(*r*) PANARO is one of the principal rivers of *Modena*, rising in the *Appenine* mountains, on the borders of *Tuscany*, from whence it runs N. into the *Modenese*, and afterwards divides that dutchy from *Romania*, then turning E. runs through the *Ferrarese* by the city *Ferrara*, and falls into the *Adriatick* at *Valona*, and is called for that reason *Po di Valona*.

TRIUMVIRATE; and the two great and last defenders of the *Roman* liberty killed themselves, to avoid falling into the hands of the conquerors. MÆCENAS greatly signalized himself in these two battles (s); and he, who in time of peace was so distinguished for his luxury and effeminacy, appeared in the fields of *Philippi* covered all over with blood and dust, and terrible to his enemies.

HORACE, who in his younger years bore arms, was a tribune in the republican army, under BRUTUS and CASSIUS (t). He owns himself that he lost both

(s) PEDONIUS, in his *Epicedium*, describes the valour of MÆCENAS in the fields of *Philippi*:

*Pulvere in Æmatio fortem videre Philippi;
Quam nunc ille tener, tam gravis hostis erat.*

(t) It is plain from several passages in HORACE, that he was a tribune in the army of
his

his honour and estate on that fatal day.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS, and lost all his fortune,
which obliged him to turn poet.

*Nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum:
Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
Nunc, quia sim tibi, Mæcenas, convictor; at olim
Quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.*

HOR. B. i. Sat. vi.

As for myself; a freeman's son confess;
A freeman's son, the publick scorn and jest,
That now with you I joy the social hour;
That once a Roman legion own'd my power.

FRANCIS.

*Unde simul primum me demisere Philippi,
Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
Et laris, & fundi; paupertas impulit audax,
Ut versus facerem.*

HOR. B. ii. Epist. ii.

Dread *Philippi's* field
First clipt my wings, and taught my pride to
yield,
My fortune ruin'd, blasted all my views,
Bold Hunger edg'd, and Want inspir'd my Muse.

FRANCIS.

Poetry in the *Augustan* age was not only a more
profitable but a more honourable profession than
it is in our days.

Reduced to poverty, he found himself

Hodie cum nullus sit poetarum honos, nulla apud principes æstimatio, magna non tantum rerum inopia premente, sed mendicitate etiam angustantur: Meriones & tibicines dona magnifica ferunt; Poetæ vix stipem accipiunt; isti luxu abundant: hi inedia pressi fortiter esuriunt.

LEONHARD. PORCIUS *in dedicat. ad libr. de re pecuniaria antiquorum.*

*Quis tibi Mæcenas? quis nunc erit aut Proculeius?
Tunc par ingenio pretium.*

JUVENAL. Sat. vii.

Though HORACE was under a necessity of writing for bread, we find nothing of his that has the least air of carelessness and neglect; either because he very prudently suppressed all his juvenile productions, or that his taste and genius would not permit him to write but in the most beautiful and finished goût. It is likely however that he would not have succeeded so well but for the great favour of MÆCENAS:

*Neque enim cantare sub antra
Pierio, thyrsumve potest contingere sana
Paupertas, atque æris inops, quo nocte dieque
Corpus eget. Satur est, cum dicit Horatius, obe!*

JUVENAL. Sat. vii.

Must be secure from want, if not abound.
Unvex'd with thought of wants which may betide,
Or for to-morrow's dinner to provide.
HORACE ne'er wrote but with a rosy cheek,
His belly pamper'd, and his sides were sleek.

CHAR. DRYDEN.

under

under a necessity to commence *poet*; and he was more favoured by the *Muses* than he had been by *Mars* and *Bellona*—his talents recommended him to MÆCENAS, who ever after became his *friend*, his *patron*, and *benefactor*.

ALTHOUGH VIRGIL had not taken up arms against the TRIUMVIRATE, he was dispossessed of his paternal estate, which their soldiers shared at the fields of *Cremona* and *Mantua* (u). The poet,

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, in his preface to the Panegyric of MAJORIANUS, insinuates that we owe the works of HORACE to the pardon he obtained through MÆCENAS:

*Et tibi, Flacce, acies Bruti Cassique secuto,
Carminis est autor, qui fuit et veniæ.*

(u)

L. Quo te, Mæri, pedes? an, quo via ducit, in urbem?

M. O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri,
Quod numquam veriti sumus, ut possessor agelli
Diceret: Hæc mea sunt; veteres migrate coloni.

deprived of his patrimony by the centurion ARIUS, applied to POLLIO, to have it restored. This illustrious *Roman* recommended him to MÆCENAS; who not only favoured him with his protection, but even introduced him to OCTAVIUS, from whom he received all the satisfaction he could wish for. VIRGIL became an intimate of MÆCENAS; we are not only indebted to the zeal and encouragement of this patron of the

*Nunc victi, tristes, quoniam fors omnia versat,
Hos illi (quod nec bene vertat) mittimus hædos.*

VIRG. *Bucolic.* xi.

L. HO, MOERIS! whither on thy way so fast?
This leads to town.

M. O LYCIDAS, at last
The time is come I never thought to see,
(Strange revolution for my farm and me)
When the grim captain in a surly tone,
Cries out, Pack up, ye rascals, and be gone.
Kick'd out, we set the best face on't we cou'd, }
And these two kids t'appease his angry mood }
I bear, of which the Furies give him good. }

DRYDEN.

Muses

Muses, for the *Georgics*, which VIRGIL dedicated to Him from a principle of gratitude, but for the *Æneids* also (x).

(x) MARTIAL celebrates the generosity of MÆCENAS, and the protection with which he favoured VIRGIL, and gave rise to the *Æneids*.

*Ingenium sacri miraris abesse Maronis,
Nec quemquam tantâ bella sonare tubâ.
Sint Mæcenates, non deerunt, Flatce, Marones,
Virgiliumque tibi vel tua rura dabunt.*

*Jugera perdiderat miseræ vicina Cremonæ;
Flebat & abductas Tityrus æger oves.*

*Risit Thuscus eques, paupertatemque malignam
Reppulit, & celeri jussit abire fugâ.*

Accipe divitias, & vatum maximus esto:

Tu licet & nostrum, dixit, Alexin ames.

Excidit attonito pinguis Galatea poetæ,

Thestylis & rubras messibus usta genas:

Prætinus Italiam concepit, & Arma virumque,

Qui modo vix Culicem fleverat ore rudi.

MARTIAL. B. viii. Epig. lvi.

This epigram informs us that MÆCENAS made VIRGIL a present also of young ALEXIS, who handed drink to him, and is honoured by the poet in his second eclogue. SERVIUS however in his comment upon this eclogue, and APULIUS in *Apol.* say it was POLLIO made VIRGIL this present. SERVIUS farther observes, VIRGIL was fond of young people, but adds, that

Thus the favours of the Great inspire and encourage genius, and are productive of the most excellent and immortal writings (y).

MÆCENAS very warmly espoused the cause and interests of men of letters: a

it was not with any immoral or indecent intentions; and this is agreeable to the character of prudence, for which he was always so remarkable.

(y) THE protection given to the Literati by men in power, has always retorted honour upon themselves. What names have been more celebrated than those of AUGUSTUS and MÆCENAS? The gratitude of poets has often out-run received favours—I shall take the liberty upon this occasion to quote a few lines from SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS. He is speaking of OCTAVIUS's generosity in restoring VIRGIL to his patrimony, and the eclogue the poet wrote in acknowledgement,

Sea rus concessum dum largo in principe laudat,

Cælum pro terris rustica musa dedit.

Nec fuit inferius Phœbeia dona referre:

Fecerat hic dominum, fecit & ille Deum.

Præf. Paneg. major.

fresh

fresh opportunity offered soon after: VIRGIL and VARIUS having mentioned HORACE to him, he expressed a desire to see him. Let us attend the poet ingenuously representing himself in this first rencontre:

Felicem dicere non hoc

Me possum, casu quod te sortitus amicum.
Nulla etenim tibi me fors obtulit: optimus

olim

Virgilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid
essem.

Ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus,
(Infans namque pudor prohibebat plura
profari)

Non ego me claro natum patre, non ego
circum

Me Satureiano vectari rura caballo;

Sed,

*Sed, quod eram, narro. Respondes (ut
tuus est mos)*

*Pauca. Abeo; et revocas nono post mense,
jubesque*

*Esse in amicorum numero: magnum hoc
ego duco,*

*Quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis
honestum,*

*Non patre præclaro, sed vita et pectore
puro.*

HOR. L. i. Sat. 6.

Nor yet to Chance this happiness I owe;
Friendship like yours she had not to
bestow.

My best-lov'd VIRGIL first, then VARIUS
told,

Among my friends what character I hold:

When

When introduc'd, in few and fault'ring
words,

(Such as an *infant modesty* affords)

I did not tell you my descent was great,

Or that I wander'd round my country
feat

On a proud steed, in richer pastures
bred:

But what I really was, I frankly said:

Short was your answer in your usual
strain;

I take my leave, nor wait on you again,

Till, nine months past, engag'd and bid
to hold

A place among your nearer friends
enroll'd:

An honour this, methinks, of nobler
kind,

That, innocent of heart, and pure of
mind,

Though

Though with no titled birth, I gain'd
 his love,
 Whose judgment can discern: whose
 choice approve.

FRANCIS.

HORACE says nothing of his pardon
 for having served with BRUTUS (z),

(z) AN anonymous writer of an abridgement
 of the Life of HORACE, pretends that he was
 taken prisoner at the action of *Philippi*, and
 was not enlarged till a long time after: two
 facts, which in my opinion are not founded in
 truth. As to the first, HORACE, who concealed
 no circumstance that had ever happened to him,
 and even confesses he threw down his shield,
Celerem fugam sensi, relictâ non bene parmula:
 HORACE, I say, makes no mention of his im-
 prisonment. It is, secondly, an absolute mistake
 to advance that his pardon was long deferred;
 since he himself describes the voyage in which
 he accompanied MÆCENAS and COCCEIUS the
 very year after that battle, who were then go-
 ing to *Brundisium* to reconcile the differences be-
 tween ANTONY and OCTAVIUS:

Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Româ.

Millia tum pransi tria repimus, atque subimus

but

but this we may easily suppose he obtained, from his great friendship and

Impositum saxi late candentibus Anxur.

Huc venturus erat Mæcenas optimus, atque

Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque

Legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.

HOR. B. i. Sat. v.

Leaving imperial Rome, I took my way
To poor Aricia,

- - - - -

then after dinner creep

Three tedious miles, and climb the rocky steep,

Whence *Anxur* shines. MÆCENAS was to meet

COCCEIUS here, to settle things of weight ;

For they had oft in embassy been join'd,

And reconcil'd the masters of mankind.

FRANCIS.

It is therefore with great propriety I have fixed the acquaintance of MÆCENAS with HORACE before the voyage to *Brundisium*, and soon after VIRGIL (for it was he who first spoke of HORACE to him) had been recommended to this favourite minister. Noble minds are strangers to envy. VIRGIL, far from being jealous of the great poets his cotemporaries, was even content to share the favours of MÆCENAS along with them. There were, and indeed are, but a few of so generous a disposition. We have one example, that of NEMESIUS towards CALPURNIUS, both * pastoral poets in the reign of CARUS and his sons. NEMESIUS rose to great preferments and was in high favour with his emperor : “ His

intimacy

intimacy with MÆCENAS ; whose friends soon became the favourites of OCTAVIUS : this was the fate of HORACE ; his wit and abilities endeared him to the PRINCE, as they had done before to the FAVOURITE. •

AFTER the battle of *Philippi* ANTONY went into the East, where he fell in love with CLEOPATRA. While he

“ success, says MAIRAULT an elegant transla-
 “ tor of these poets, did † not prevent his in-
 “ teresting himself for CALPURNIUS, who had
 “ talents equal to his own, though not attended
 “ with the same good fortune ; for poor CAL-
 “ PURNIUS was reduced to the greatest misery,
 “ —He was both his rival and benefactor.”—

* Fuit ex Africa Carthaginiensis Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus, tantæ fuit autoritatis, ut cum eo Numerianus imperator doctissimus in poetica facultate certaverit.

† Ovilius Titus Calphurnius Siculus Bucolica scripsit, floruit Charo principe & filiis Charino & Numeriani Cæsaribus, Anno Christi circiter 288. Inopem se ipse suo carmine fuisse ostendit.

Lil. Gyrard. de poet. Histor. Dialog. iv. p. 256.

was

was in *Egypt* with his mistress, *FULVIA* his wife, piqued at *OCTAVIUS* for having repudiated her daughter, took up arms in *Italy*; and engaged *LUCIUS ANTONY*, her husband's brother, to her assistance. *OCTAVIUS* besieged them in *Perusia* (a), and after a long siege obliged them to surrender. *MÆCENAS* was present at the siege, and upon that occasion gave fresh proofs of his courage, as well as military knowledge.

OCTAVIUS at length made preparations to carry on a war against the younger *POMPEY*, who was at sea commanding the fleet: but well apprized of his strength, and that he was aim-

(a) *PERUSIA*, now *Perugia*, a very old city in *Tuscany*, midway between *Rome* and *Florence*.

ing at an alliance with M. ANTONY, he feared to have them both to cope with. To be armed therefore against such an event, he, by the interposition of MÆCENAS, contracted and married (though contrary to his inclination) (*b*) SCRIBONIA, sister of SCRIBONIUS LIBO, POMPEY's father-in-law, thinking by such an alliance to engage POMPEY strongly in his interest in case he should stand in need of him (*c*): a remarkable instance

(*b*) OCTAVIUS divorced SCRIBONIA a year after his marriage, on the very day she was brought to bed of JULIA. He had married her out of policy, and parted with her on pretences that she had been imprudent in her conduct; but it was in fact because he had no farther occasion for POMPEY's alliance: or, as SUETONIUS says, because she could not bear the criminal conversation that passed between her husband and LIVIA; & dimissam Scriboniam, quia liberius doluisset nimiam potentiam pelli-
cis, *Uc. c. 69. Life of Augustus.*

(*c*) Επεσελλε Μαικηνα συνδεσθαι Σκριβωνια τη Δι-
βωνος αδελφη τη κηδευοντι Πομπηιω, ιν' εχοι και τηνδε
αφορμην εις διαλυσεις ει δεησκει. APPIAN.

of the policy of the prince; whose only ruling passions, were interest and ambition.

THE misunderstandings between ANTONY and OCTAVIUS broke out afresh. Three illustrious *Romans* (*d*), POLLIO, MÆCENAS, and COCCEIUS undertook to reconcile them, and were named for that purpose, the Triumvirate. The choice could not have fallen upon men of greater abilities and better understanding. They heartily concurred in their endeavours, to crush the seeds of these dissensions, and they succeeded to their wish. *Brundisium* was the place

(*d*) Ὡς οὖν ὁ στρατὸς ὁ τῶν Καίσαρος αἰσθανόμενος, πρεσβείας εἰλόντο τὰς αὐτὰς ἐς ἀμφοτέρους, κ. τ. λ. Κοκκηῖον μὲν ὡς κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀντωνίου Πολλίων, καὶ Μαίκεναν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρος.

APP. *De bell. civil.* l. v.

D

appoint-

appointed for the negotiation; and, in order to give it the greater strength and weight, it was agreed upon by all parties, that an alliance should be concluded between the two rivals. OCTAVIA, the sister of OCTAVIUS, had just about that time lost her husband MARCELLUS; she was to marry ANTONY, to which her brother readily consented. The troops of OCTAVIUS and ANTONY, by this means become allies in the field, expressed their satisfaction; and their loud repeated acclamations, and rejoicings, continued a whole day and a night. VIRGIL, HORACE, VARIUS, HELIODORUS, and several other Literati, accompanied MÆCENAS in this expedition to *Brundisium*. The important affairs with which this able negociator was entrusted, were no interruptions to his natural

ral and usual gaiety : His employments, no way superior to his genius, never turned his attention from the Muses, or diverted him from his conversation and intercourses with men of letters. HORACE has given a very humorous description of this voyage (*e*).

THUS OCTAVIUS and ANTONY became once more reconciled; but it was such a reconciliation as the great are used to, who are ever ready to sacrifice their friendship to the least ap-

(*e*) WE have already taken notice of HORACE's journey from *Rome* to *Brundisium*, Note (*r*). APPIAN in Book v. says MÆCENAS was nominated by OCTAVIUS, POLLIO by ANTONY, and COCCEIUS by both, to accommodate their differences, but speaks not a word of FONTEIUS CAPITO. COCCEIUS, great grandfather of the emperor NERVA, was an eminent lawyer, and equally the friend of OCTAVIUS and ANTONY.

pearances of interest. This soon happened. Their good understanding was but of short duration: how could it possibly be otherwise with two competitors for sovereign power? ANTONY, a few years after, re-exasperated against OCTAVIUS upon some reports that had been propagated, sailed towards *Italy* with three hundred ships. The affairs of OCTAVIUS became desperate; he was waging a disadvantageous war against POMPEY the younger, and was still in greater awe of ANTONY (f). In this perilous juncture he sent MÆCENAS to him, to endeavour by gentle

(f) Ὡς ὁ γράει ὁ τὸ Καίσαρ αἰσθανόμενοι, πρεσβεις εἰλοντο τὰς αὐτὰς ἐς ἀμφοτέρους, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα αὐτῶν ἐπεσχόν, ὥς ἔκριναι σφισιν, ἀλλὰ διαλλαξάιμονον ἤρημενοι, σφισι δ' αὐτοῖς προσελομένοι, Κοκκηῖον μὲν ὡς κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν Ἀἰωνίου Πολλιῶνα, καὶ Μακκηναῖαν ἐκ τῶν Καίσαρ, ἐγνώσαν Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀἰωνίῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλοισι ἀμνηστῆσαν εἶναι τῶν γιγνομένων, καὶ φι-

means

means, to remove such new grievances, as might have given occasion for any fresh rupture between them. Had this negotiation miscarried, OCTAVIUS determined to have quitted his maritime enterprize, and to have collected his whole force by land; but he had trusted his interests in very able hands; the eloquent and active minister was perfectly well acquainted with his business, and soon freed OCTAVIUS from his disquietude, by declaring ANTONY would join him against POMPEY.

PLUTARCH relates the story differently: ANTONY, says he, not being

λιαν ἐς το μέλλον, ὑπογυῶς δὲ Μαρκέλλῳ τεθνεώτῳ, ὅς
την ἀδελφὴν Καίσαρῳ εἶχεν Οκταβίαν, ἐδικαίειν οἱ διαλ-
λαγαί τὴν Οκταβίαν Ἀντωνίῳ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐγγυῆσαι, καὶ
ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα ἐγγύα, καὶ ἡσπαζόντο ἀλλήλους, καὶ βοᾷ
παρα τῇ στρατῷ καὶ εὐφημαί πρὸς ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἦσαν.
ἑκαυτοὶ δὲ ὅλης τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἀνα τὴν νύκτα πασαν.

APP. l. v. Civil. p. 367.

received at *Brundisium*, arrived with his fleet in the harbour of *Tarentum*. OCTAVIA, who accompanied him in this voyage, begged leave to pay a visit to her brother, which was granted. She met OCTAVIUS on the way, and (seconded by MÆCENAS and AGRIPPA) very pathetically complained of her unhappy situation, in case of a breach between her husband and her brother. OCTAVIUS, moved by his sister's tears, and by his friends persuasions, went to *Tarentum* (g) and there concluded a treaty with ANTONY as little durable as the rest.

OCTAVIUS, disengaged from his fears, and strengthened by the alliance of AN-

(g) TARENTO, now a small city in the kingdom of *Naples*, having an harbour in the gulf of *Otranto*, near the mouth of the *Tara*.

TONY

TONY and LEPIDUS, renewed the war with POMPEY, and would have invaded *Sicily*: but he was disappointed in his designs by a violent tempest, which put his fleet into great disorder. MÆCENAS had share in these dangers; and OCTAVIUS, apprehending the news of this disappointment, together with the scarcity of provisions, might raise new commotions at *Rome*, where POMPEY's cause seemed to be most favoured, upon account of his father's character, sent his favourite thither, to keep them to their duty.

OCTAVIUS, having refitted his fleet the year after, returned into *Sicily*, with AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS. AGRIPPA overcame DEMOCHARES, who commanded a separate body of troops for

POMPEY; POMPEY beat OCTAVIUS. Rome was at this time in some confusion; a few turbulent spirits were plotting new mischiefs. OCTAVIUS sent MÆCENAS thither, in order to appease those troubles, and to punish the ring-leaders; we know very little of this affair from history with any degree of certainty. As soon as he had succeeded in his commission, MÆCENAS return'd to the fleet, and was present at the last battle which POMPEY gave OCTAVIUS near the promontory of *Pelorus* (b). The victory was chiefly owing to the valour and address of AGRIPPA. MÆCENAS however signalized himself in this battle, and had a share in the glory. He was both the soldier and command-

(b) A promontory of *Sicily*, now called *Capo di Faro*.

er on that important day, having himself set fire to the enemies ships, most of which were either burnt or sunk (i). POMPEY, who a little before was at the head of three hundred and fifty ships, was now obliged to make the best of his way towards *Asia*, with six or seven ships only, and was slain by ANTONY's order at *Miletus* (k). The same year, LEPIDUS, whom OCTAVIUS had commanded up to his succour, and had passed out of *Africa* into *Sicily*, finding himself at the head of twenty legions, after the defeat of POMPEY, possessed

(i) PEDONIUS in his *Epicedium*, Elegy first, observes that MÆCENAS gave great proofs of his courage at the last battle fought against the younger POMPEY:

Illum piscosi viderunt saxa Pelori

Ignibus hostilis tradere ligna ratis.

(k) Now *Melazzo*, a town situated on a bay of the *Archipelago*, sixty-one miles S. of *Smyrna*.

himself

himself of *Messina*, and formed the design of reducing the whole island to his obedience; but his soldiers deserted, and went over to OCTAVIUS, who degraded, and stripped him of all his employments.

THOUGH MÆCENAS was very useful to OCTAVIUS during the civil wars, as he was his privy counsellor in conjunction with AGRIPPA, he was nevertheless frequently sent to *Rome*, of which he was prefect as well as of all *Italy*. The prefect (1) was one of the chief magis-

(1) HORACE in his Odes speaks of MÆCENAS as a magistrate,

*Tu civitatem quis deceat status
Curas, & urbi sollicitus times.*

HOR. B. iii. Ode xxix.

But you for *Rome's* imperial state
Attend with ever watchful care.

FRANCIS.

trates

trates of *Rome*. He had the sole management of affairs when the consuls and emperors were absent; was entrusted with the regulation of civil matters, provision, buildings, shipping; all crimes, whether committed in the city, or within a hundred miles round, came immediately under his cognizance, and he condemned to death without appeal. How great and extensive must have been the capacity of this man, who could, and did, so well discharge his duty through a multiplicity of offices of such dignity and importance! Never did magistrate acquit himself so honourably as MÆCENAS: *Rome* was secure during his administration; he spared the lives of his fellow citizens, nor ever committed the least injustice (*m*).

(*m*) SENECA, who cannot be suspected of flattering MÆCENAS, admires his sweetness and

THE

THE peace which then subsisted was not built on a solid foundation. OCTAVIUS and ANTONY were both of them too aspiring to be sincere. Directed by policy, and influenced by the circumstance of their affairs, they became sometimes jealous, reserved, and suspicious—at others again free, open, and confident. OCTAVIUS at length, wisely judging of ANTONY by his former conduct, rather chose to come to an open rupture, and to throw off the mask, than to keep up a pretended friendship, which was constantly expos-

humanity of behaviour while a magistrate. *Maxima laus illi tribuitur mansuetudinis: pepercit gladio, sanguine abstinuit: nec ullâ aliâ re quod posset, quam licentia, offendit.* SENEC. Epist. cxiv. It is remarkable that this censor never speaks well of MÆCENAS, but he makes some ill-natured reflection at the same time.

ing him to the secret machinations of his enemy. ANTONY had been proposed as consul for the ensuing year: the senate, at the solicitations of OCTAVIUS, reversed the election, and declared war against CLEOPATRA: ANTONY, on the other hand, divorced the prudent OCTAVIA; and great preparations were made on both sides to carry on hostilities. The battle of *Actium* (n) decided the quarrel; the fleet of OCTAVIUS, commanded by AGRIPPA, gained a compleat victory. MÆCENAS was there (o). We cannot precisely de-

(n) A promontory of *Epirus* now called Cape of *Figalo*.

(o) THE first Ode of the Epodes of HORACE informs us that MÆCENAS was to go on board of OCTAVIUS's galleys, in order to attack ANTONY's men of war:

*Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula.*

termine

termine what post he held; but his

Paratus omne Cæsaris periculum

Subire, Mæcenas, tuo.

While you, my brave illustrious friend,
Would CÆSAR's person with your own defend:
And ANTONY's high-tower'd fleet,
With light *Liburnian* galleys fearless meet.

FRANCIS.

Some however doubt whether he ever quitted *Rome*. APPIAN, B. v. *De bellis civil.* assures us, that MÆCENAS having convicted young LEPIDUS of the plot against OCTAVIUS, ordered him to be conducted to *Actium*, where the prince then was.

If this be true, it is plain, MÆCENAS could not have been present at that battle, since he must at that very time have been at *Rome* attending on his office of prefect. But VELLEIUS, B. ii. c. 88. says LEPIDUS conspired against OCTAVIUS, while he was engaged in this last war, *Dum ultimam bello Actiaco Alexandrinoque Cæsar imponit manum, &c.* MÆCENAS might therefore have been in that action, and return afterwards to his office, while OCTAVIUS was pursuing ANTONY, and carrying the war into *Egypt*. PEDONIUS, who lived at that time, puts an end to this dispute. He paints the valour of his hero in that famous affair:

Cum freta Niliacæ texerunt lata Carinæ,

Fortis erat circum, fortis & ante ducem.

Militis Eoi fugientis terga secutus,

Tertius ad Nili dum fugit ille caput.

4

Epiced. Eleg. i.

courage

courage and bravery were celebrated; he pursued ANTONY and CLEOPATRA, who fled towards *Peloponnesus*, and thence into *Egypt*. After this victory, which gave OCTAVIUS the empire of the world, MÆCENAS returned to his former post of *prefect*. The victorious troops, enraged at their being disbanded without receiving the reward they expected, mutinied at *Brundisium*. OCTAVIUS, fearing they would not regard MÆCENAS as he was of the equestrian order only, sent AGRIPPA into *Italy* on some other pretext; but he was obliged to go thither in person, and his presence quieted the tumult. DONATUS, in his life of VIRGIL, tells us it was then that OCTAVIUS attended to the reading of the *Georgics*, in *Atella* (p)

(p) NEAR the present *S. Arpino*.

a city

a city of *Campania*, at which MÆCENAS was also present, and assisted his friend VIRGIL in reading alternately with him: We may observe with SÆTONTIUS (q), that this prince, amidst all the troubles of civil war, never forgot to cultivate the *belles lettres*, but honored men of learning with his favor and attention, whenever they read over their works to him, whether they were in prose or in verse.

AFTER OCTAVIUS had settled his affairs in *Italy* and *Rome*, he sailed for *Syria*, with the design of attacking *Egypt*, and left MÆCENAS and AGRIPPA at *Rome*, to govern in his absence.

(q) INGENIA seculi sui omnibus modis fovit. Recitantes & benigne & patienter audivit, nec tantum carmina & historias, sed & orationes & dialogos. SÆTON. *Life of Augustus*, Chap. 89,

He

He even gave them an unlimited power to open all letters he should send, either to the senate, or to private persons, with a full liberty to make such alterations in them, as they should think proper; they were farther invested with an authority to issue out edicts in his name, in case of necessity: and in order to enforce their administration, He delivered them his signet, on which the figure of a sphinx was imprest (r). The wits

(r) PLINY, B. xxxvii. c. 1. speaks of this seal of AUGUSTUS. He at first had the impression of a sphinx on it. Divus Augustus, says PLINY, inter initia sphinge signavit. Duas in matris annulis jam indiscretæ magnitudinis invenerat. Altera per bella civilia, absente eo, amici signavere epistolas & edicta—non infaceto lepore accipientium, ænigmata adferre eam sphingem—Augustus postea ad evitanda convicia sphingis, Alexandri magni imagine signavit. SUTTONIUS says, In diplomatibus libellisque & epistolis signandis, initio sphinge usus est: mox imagine magni Alexandri: novissime suâ, Dioscoridis manu sculptâ, quâ signare insecuti quo-

of those days displayed their talents upon that occasion. This sphinx, said they, portends riddles. To prevent these raileries, OCTAVIUS changed his seal, and had the figure of ALEXANDER the Great, and afterwards his own engraved upon it (s).

THE device with which MÆCENAS sometimes sealed his public instruments was a FROG (t). The people dreaded

que principes perseveraverunt. DION confirms what SÆTONIUS writes upon that subject. The succeeding emperors imitated AUGUSTUS in this, excepting GALBA. Hic canem ex prora navis prospectantem, signum a majoribus suis acceptum, usurpavit. DION, B. li.

(s) Διπλὴν γὰρ δὴ σφραγίδα, ἥ μαλιστα τότε ἐχρη-
σατο, ἐπέποιήτο, σφίγξ ἐν ἐκάλειρα ὁμοίαν ἐκλυπώσας,
ὑπερὸν γὰρ τὴν εἰκόνα τὴν εαυτοῦ ἐγλύψας, ἐκείνη τὰ
πάντα ἐσημαίνετο. DION. B. li.

(t) PLINY, Book xxxvii. of his natural history, takes notice of the seal of MÆCENAS,
this

this animal, because it was very often annexed to his tax bills. As MÆCENAS was a man of uncommon sense, it was presumed he never did a thing inconsiderately. Many were of opinion that he had some hieroglyphical meaning in this. SÆTONTIUS relates the following story (u): OCTAVIUS, when a little the impression of which was a frog. Quin etiam Mæcenatis rana, per collationem pecuniarum, in magno terrore erat.

Mæcenas ranam sculptam sibi habuit; at in publicis annulo regio haud dubie utebatur. Creditur enim Augusti fuisse cancellarius: ut ejus familiaris Horatius innuit, à frequente amico rogatus, ut apud Mæcenatem suffragaretur:

Inprimat his cura Mæcenas signa tabellis.

Dixeris, Experiar: Si vis, potes.

Dio Cassius addit, Augustum promiscue sigillum præcipuum credidisse Mæcenati & Agrippæ; & tantum tribuisse ambobus, ut literas ad senatus scriptas vel alio, impune relegerent & immutarent. GUID. PANCIROLI *lib. Rerum memorabilium*, tit *De legatis*. in *Salmuth. com.*

(u) CUM primum fari cœpisset in avito suburbano obstrepentes forte ranas filere jussit; atque

boy, being at his grandfather's country-seat, ordered the frogs to hold their croaking, which (as it was reported) they immediately obeyed, and were ever after silent in that place, as the frogs of *Seripho* (*w*) are said to be; of which *PLINY* gives us an account (*x*). It was in allusion to this fable, which flattered the vanity of *OCTAVIUS*, that *MÆCENAS* chose a frog for his seal, which became (on account of this miraculous event) the emblem of discretion, for which this illustrious favourite was remarkable. Others again were of opinion, that this amphibious animal was *ex eo negantur ibi ranæ coaxare. SÆTON. Life of Augustus, chap. 94.*

(*w*) ONE of the Cyclade islands in the *Archipelago*, called *Serfino*.

(*x*) *MURÆ sunt etiam (viz. Ranæ) nunc in Seripho insula. L. viii. c. 58.*

symbolical

symbolical of the power he was invested with, both in land and sea affairs.

ANTONY, finding he was irrecoverably undone, dispatched himself. CLEOPATRA, to avoid being carried away in triumph, ordered an aspick to be applied to her arm, and was stung to death. While these things were transacting in *Egypt*, M. LEPIDUS, son of the TRIUMVIR and of JUNIA, BRUTUS' sister, a young man, says VELLEIUS (y), of a good figure, but of a weak judgment, formed a design to murder OCTAVIUS on his return to *Rome*; but this was

(y) Dum ultimam bello Actiaco Alexandri-
noque Cæsar imponit manum, M. Lepidus ju-
venis, forma quam mente melior: Lepidi ejus,
qui triumvir fuerat reip. constituendæ, filius,
Junia Bruti sorore natus, interficiendi, simul in
urbem revertisset, Cæsaris consilia inierat. VEL-
LEIUS PATERCULUS, B. ii. chap. 88.

E 3

prevented

prevented by the vigilance of the *prefect*: MÆCENAS very narrowly watched the motions of this imprudent man; and judging it upon the like occasions to be more safe and politic to act, rather than to deliberate, had him secured, and without any noise or disturbance stifled the plot, and crushed the seeds of a fresh civil war, in the very bud. LEPIDUS received a punishment due to such imprudence and temerity.

OCTAVIUS, having reduced *Egypt* to a province, returned into *Italy* towards the middle of the summer. He entered *Rome* in triumph, and the temple of JANUS was now locked up by his command, after having been kept open two hundred years. It was then, says SUE-
TONIUS,

TONIUS (z), that he reflected on the repeated reproaches made him by ANTONY, with being the only person who opposed the re-establishment of the common-wealth; and that he deliberated whether he should restore liberty again to the *Romans*. It is much questioned, however, whether he thought seriously of the matter. Princes of OCTAVIUS' complexion can easily conceal their sentiments, nor is it an easy matter to pry into their secret intentions. Be this as it will, he consulted AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS, his two intimate friends, upon this remarkable occasion (a). AGRIPPA

(z) DE reddenda republica bis cogitavit; primo post oppressum statim Antonium, memor objectum ab eo sibi sæpius, quasi per ipsum staret, ne redderetur. SÆTON. *Life of Augustus*, chap. 28.

(a) VIRGIL, according to DONATUS, was consulted upon this important affair by OCTA-

persuaded him generously to resign the sovereignty, and to shew by his moderation that he had only taken up arms to revenge the death of CÆSAR. Nor did he forget to represent, by various examples, the dangers and fatal consequences of monarchy, which is so disgusting to a republican spirit. But MÆCENAS, consulting nothing but the *prince's* interest, painted the risques of an abdication in the strongest colors. He farther observed, that the very sons and friends of those whom he had been obliged to sacrifice, would lose no opportunity of attacking and persecuting him, as soon as they found themselves upon a level with him; that having put *vius*—but this fact has the less weight, as we can find no authority for it among the ancient writers.

an end to the civil wars, and quieted the minds of the people, he had justly a right to the imperial dignity; and that the great and vast empire, now required one chief only to maintain peace and order; that although that step had cost the great JULIUS his life, it was owing to his proud and haughty demeanour, an error which, no doubt, OCTAVIUS would most carefully avoid. OCTAVIUS, after having heard their opinions, admired the frankness of AGRIPPA, but preferred the advice of MÆCENAS (b). It no doubt coincided with his own private wishes; for we find him acting the same farce over again, two years after, in the senate house, when he affected to resign the purple. It would have startled

(b) Τα δε δη τῷ Μαικηνῷ μαλλον εἰλετο. DION.

him,

him, had they taken him at his word, but he was secure: the senators, though they greatly wished it, did not dare to declare themselves, but meanly entreated him to continue their sovereign.

I RETURN to MÆCENAS. Some modern writers would intimate that policy and self-interest only were the chief motives which induced him to give OCTAVIUS this advice, as if truth and sincerity were incompatible among courtiers: That MÆCENAS was moved to it from a natural inclination to luxury and effeminacy, and from his apprehensions of public censure in a republican government. But there is not the least foundation for such a conjecture; neither is it supported by the authority of any one ancient writer. How can we
suspect

suspect MÆCENAS of such a pusillanimity, when we know, he himself pressed OCTAVIUS to constitute a censor, in order to examine into the families, fortune, and conduct of the senators and knights, of which number he was? He moreover laid down very excellent rules and instructions how to govern, and told him, the only way to accustom the *Romans* to his dominion, and to insure his own safety, was to make them his friends, a *guard* by far more secure than that of his *soldiers*; and that this was easily attainable, provided his conduct was modest and virtuous, that he raised no new imposts, nor condemned any person for a fault, which he might himself be charged with; in short, if he behaved towards his subjects, in the manner he would choose to be treated himself was
I he

he in the same condition. This able confident farther advised him to issue out orders, that the sons of knights and senators should from their infancy be well instructed in the *belles lettres*, and as they advanced farther in years, should be taught to ride and all such other exercises as became the young nobility; for which purpose he should engage learned men, and different masters into his pay: from such a good education, he might always expect the greatest employments would be discharged with honour, as they would then be filled by persons equal to such important trusts. As to the title OCTAVIUS was to assume, he observed, that of *king* was hateful to the *Romans*, and was therefore to be rejected; that of *Dictator* had been
I fatal

fatal to his great-uncle; he might therefore be content with that of *Imperator*, a title the soldiers gave their victorious generals. OCTAVIUS did so, and found his account in it; to MÆCENAS he was indebted for all the *glory* and *felicity* of his reign: Nor were the arts and sciences which he protected the least ornaments of it: Poetry especially, which was his chief amusement, was carried at that time to its utmost perfection and beauty, by the encouragement of this learned and judicious prince, who in this, as well as every other particular, followed the example of his dear *Favorite*.

IN 725, the senate confirmed new honours on OCTAVIUS, and conferred upon him the title of AUGUSTUS. We shall

shall henceforth call him by that name only.

PEACE reigned every where; and MÆCENAS (*d*), having no farther employment in the government of Rome (*e*)

(*c*) ATAVUS tuus Augustus, M. Agrippæ Mitylenense secretum, C. Mæcenati urbe in ipsa, velut peregrinum otium permisit, quorum alter bellorum socius, alter Romæ pluribus laboribus jactatus, ampla quidem, sed pro ingentibus meritis præmia acceperunt—Avus meus Augustus, Agrippæ & Mæcenati usurpare otium post labores concessit. TACIT. B. xiv. c. 53, 55.

(*d*) HORACE refers what he says in his third book, Ode viii, to this peaceable time, when MÆCENAS was no more prefect of Rome. He invites MÆCENAS to enjoy his ease, and to think no more of business;

Mitte civiles super urbe curas:

Negligens, ne quâ populus laboret,

Parce privatus nimium cavere:

Dona præsentis rape lætus horæ,

Linque severa.

perfectly

perfectly enjoyed the *otium cum dignitate*, a happy retirement, chiefly consecrated to his pleasure which consisted in study (e). The greatest

No more let *Rome* your anxious thoughts engage,

No more the public claims thy pious fears,
Be not too anxious then with private cares,
But seize the gift the present moment brings,
Those fleeting gifts, and leave severer things.

FRANCIS.

(e) MÆCENAS was not stinted in his hours for reading; but, in imitation of SCIPIO, LÆLIUS, and a great many other celebrated *Romans*, studied the *belles lettres* all his life. Poetry was his favourite study. He felt all the beauty and advantages of it, as the philosopher CLEANTHES did of old, according to SENECA: Nam (ut dicebat Cleanthes) quemadmodum spiritus noster clariorum sonum reddit, cum illum tuba per longi canalis angustius tractum, patientiore novissime exitu effudit: sic sensus nostros clariores carminis arcta necessitas efficit. Eadem negligentius audiuntur, minusque percutiunt, quamdiu soluta oratione dicuntur: ubi accessere numeri, & egregium sensum adstrinxere certi pedes, eadem illa sententia velut lacerto excussa torquetur.

SENEC. Epist. cviii.

JULIUS SCALIGER, in his preface on poetry, looks upon those who despise this heavenly art, as a parcel of stupid and malevolent wretches.

greatest

poets, orators and philosophers of that age were his constant companions. He agreeably passed his time in their company. He contracted no new or accidental acquaintance, nor would enter into familiarity without a thorough knowlege of the person and his character (*f*). Buffoons and such like infa-

Qui illam [poesin] agreſti & aſpero ſupercilio damnant, bruti homines, ne in hominum quidem cenſu reponendi ſunt—& memineris iſtas bonæ famæ hirudines ideo vociferari, ut ne quod eis deeſt adſit nobis. We have to this day a ſet of theſe ignorant and envious animals, who, having no taſte or reliſh for poetry themſelves, inſolently deſpiſe it as an art—Riches and titles are generally the lights which dazzle the eyes of theſe enemies of the Muſes.—Others again, ſcrupuloſly nice (for poetry has her adverſaries of different kinds) cannot ſuffer her ſprightlineſs and gaities. They even condemn the moſt inſtructive tragedies, and moral comedies. This opinion proceeds from nothing but an enthuſiaſtic folly, which has already been often ridiculed.

(*f*) THAT MÆCENAS took the wiſeſt precaution in the choice of his friends, before he

mous

mous gentry were his aversion—Men of wit his delight; provided they behaved with good manners and politeness. Meanness of birth was no bar to his friendship. Little dazzled with riches or the glory of title, he preferred *ability, learning and probity*. As he took such sensible precautions, we may easily conclude that his friends were few but chosen, and of very distinguished merit; and that he was not subject to change or withdraw his friendship where he had once bestowed it. Steddy and determined in became prodigal of his favours, HORACE affords several passages to prove this,

Difficiles aditus primos habet.

HOR. B. i. Sat. ix.

Paucorum hominum, & mentis bene sanæ.

Ibid.

*Præsertim cautum dignos adsumere, prava
Ambitione procul.*

Id. B. i. Sat. vi.

*Cum referre negas, quali sit quisque parente
Natus, dum ingenuus.*

Ibid.

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his

his choice, he never ceased loading those with favours, whom he once judged worthy of his regard and notice. Far unlike those miserable wretches, whose treasures never see the light, he knew how to enjoy his riches with credit. Poets in particular were his chief favourites, because himself was a lover, and was beloved of the Muses.

VIRGIL held the first place in his friendship; this inimitable poet claimed precedence not only on account of the sublimity of his genius, but because of his integrity and honesty. MÆCENAS saw these excellent qualities; he protected him (as was before observed) against the usurpers of his patrimony, and generously procured him the happy situation, with which the muses were so well

well delighted; and which inspired him to compose those celebrated writings, which did honour to the age, and to the *Roman* language.

MÆCENAS was excessively fond of HORACE, whose wit and humour was inimitable; he loaded him with favours, and made him a present of a country-seat among the *Sabines* (g). HORACE

(g) HORACE knew the bound of his desires, and well content with what he owed to the bounty of MÆCENAS, asked not avariciously for more, though sure of being gratified:

Nec (says he) si plura velim, tu dare deneges.

HOR. B. iii. Ode xvi.

He knew by his own experience, that a decent *modicum* was sufficient to make a philosopher happy:

Non ebur, neque aureum

Mea renidet in domo lacunar:

At fides, et ingeni

Benigna vena est: pauperemque dives

was sensible of his obligations to that minister: his works are full of acknowledgements, and every where express the bounty of his benefactor. PROPERTIUS was also in favour with MÆCENAS (*b*), and always consulted him about his writings.

*Me petit : nihil supra
Deos laceſſo : nec potentem amicum
Largiora flagito,
Satis beatus unicis Sabinis.*

Nor here an iv'ry cornish shines,
Nor columns of *Hymettian* mines
Proudly support their citron beams,
Nor rich with gold my ceiling flames:

Yet with a firm and honest heart,
Unknowing or of fraud or art,
A liberal vein of genius blest,
I'm by the rich and great careſt.
My patron's gift, my Sabine field
Shall all his rural plenty yield;
And happy in that rural ſtore,
Of heav'n and him I ask no more.

FRANCIS.

(*b*) PROPERTIUS, in many parts of his works, publishes the friendship MÆCENAS had for him:

AMONGST

AMONGST his illustrious companions were VALGIUS and POLLIO, men of consular dignity; VARIUS, a celebrated epic and tragic poet; FUNDANIUS, an excellent comic writer; DOMITIUS MARSUS, an eminent epigrammatist; PLOTIUS TUCCA, who assisted VARIUS in the correction of the *Æneids*; both the VISCI, *Roman* senators, and all of them favourites of APOLO (*i*); AREUS

*Mæcenas, nostræ spes invidiosa juventæ,
Et vitæ & mortis gloria justa meæ.*

B. ii. Eleg. i.

*Mollis tu cæptæ fautor cape lora juventæ,
Dexteraque immixtis da mihi signa rotis.*

B. iii. Eleg. vii.

(*i*) HORACE in his first book of Satires gives us a description of the different talents of the several poets, the friends of MÆCENAS,

*Arguta meretrice potes, Dævoque Chremeta
Eludente senem, comis garrere libellos*

of *Alexandria*, a philosopher and the

Unus vivorum, Fundani: Pollio regum

Facta canit pede ter percusso: forte epos acer,

Ut nemo, Varius ducit: molle atque facetum

Virgilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camœnæ.

B. i. Sat. x.

Of all mankind, in light and chearful strain
FUNDANIUS best can paint the comic scene,
The wily harlot, and the slave, who join
To wipe the miser of his darling coin.
POLLIO in pure Iambic Numbers sings
The tragic scenes of heroes and of kings;
And VARIUS in sublime and ardent vein
Supports the grandeur of the Epic strain.
On VIRGIL all the rural muses smile,
Smooth flow his lines, and elegant his style.

FRANCIS.

He has in a particular manner in another place
celebrated VARIUS for his genius for Epic
Poetry,

Scriberis Varo fortis & hostium

Victor, Mæonii Carminis alite.

B. i. Ode vi.

High soaring on *Mæonian* wing,

VARIUS in martial tone shall sing. FRANCIS.

VARIUS was equally eminent and successful as
a tragedy writer. QUINTILIAN in his *Instit.*
Orat. B. x. compares the *Thyestes* of VARIUS to

friend of AUGUSTUS; MELISSUS and FUSCUS ARISTIUS, learned grammarians; the rhetorician HELIODORUS, the

the best tragedy of the *Greeks*: Jam Varii Thyestes cuilibet Græcorum comparari potest.

THE Panegyrist of PISO says of this Poet, when talking of MÆCENAS:

*Nec sua Virgilio permisit numina soli
Mæcenas: tragico quatientem carmina cæstu
Evexit Varium.*

We have but a few fragments of the works of this great poet. TIBULLUS makes mention of VALGIUS, and describes the genius of this author.

*Est tibi, qui possit magnis se accingere rebus
Valgius; æterno propior non alter Homero.*

B. iv. Eleg. i. to *Messala*.

The ninth ode of the second book of HORACE is addressed to VALGIUS. C. ASINIUS POLLIO, an orator, poet, and historian, above the common cast, a great general, and one of the consuls in the year of Rome 713, is sufficiently known from the history of his times, as well as the Eclogues of VIRGIL, which are dedicated to him.

*Pollio amat nostram, quamvis sit rustica, musam.
Pollio et ipse facit nova carmina.*

VIRG. Eclog. iii.

most learned man of the Greeks ; among the orators, MÆCENAS was particularly

POLLIO my rural verse vouchsafes to read,
My POLLIO writes himself——

DRYDEN.

*En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno.*

Is there an hour in fate reserv'd for me,
To sing thy deeds in numbers worthy thee?
In numbers like to thine, could I rehearse
Thy lofty tragic scenes, thy labour'd verse—

DRYDEN.

HORACE also address'd the first ode of the second book to him :

*Paulum severæ Musa tragædiæ
Desit theatris : mox, ubi publicas
Res ordinariis, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,
Insigne mæstis præsidium reis,
Et consulenti Pollio curiæ :
Cui laurus æternos honores
Dalmatico peperit triumpho.*

Retard a while thy glowing vein,
Nor swell the solemn, tragic scene ;
And when thy sage, historic cares
Have form'd the train of Rome's affairs,
With lofty rapture re-inflam'd, infuse
Heroic thoughts, and wake the buskin'd muse ;

O POLLIO, thou the great defence
Of sad imploring innocence,

intimate

intimate with FABIVS PUBLICOLA,
MESSALA CORVINVS (k), CAIVS FUR-

On whom, to weigh the grand debate,
In deep consult the fathers wait ;
For whom the triumphs o'er *Dalmatia* spread
Unfading honours round thy laurel'd head.

FRANCIS.

We must not confound DOMITIUS MARSUS,
a celebrated epigrammatist, with MARCUS,
author of the *Amazonides*. MARTIAL has two
epigrams, which plainly mark a difference be-
tween the two :

*Ergo ero Virgilius, si munera Mæcenatis
Des mihi ? Virgilius non ero, Marsus ero.*

MART. B. viii. Epig. lvi.

*Sæpius in libro memoratur Persius uno,
Quam levis in tota Marsus Amazonide.*

Ib. B. iv. Epig. xxix.

(k) MESSALA CORVINUS, a Roman senator,
of illustrious birth, and a great orator, was col-
league in the consulship with AUGUSTUS in the
year of Rome 722. He was the friend and pa-
tron of TIBULLUS, who in his ivth Book of
Paneg. to MESSALA thus describes his virtues
and rare qualifications :

*Te, Messala, canam, quamquam me cognita virtus
Terret—*

*Non tua majorum contenta est gloria fama,
Nec quæris quid quaque index sub imagine dicat;*

NIUS

NIUS, a tribune of the people, and his son, a most elegant and faithful historian, whom AUGUSTUS raised to the consular dignity.

THE different talents of these great men, had we no other proofs, would

*Sed generis priscos contendis vincere honores,
Quam tibi majores, majus decus ipse futurus.*

CICERO in his book of eminent orators mentions MESSALA with great respect. And in his xvth Epistle to BRUTUS, Messalam habes, says he: cave putes, probitate, constantiâ, curâ, studio reipublicæ, quidquam illi esse simile: ut eloquentia, qua mirabiliter excellit, vix in eo locum ad laudandum habere videatur. HORACE, B. i. Sat. x. mentions him:

Te, Messala, tuo cum fratre, &c.

And QUINTILIAN in his *Inst. orat.* B. x. Chap. i. says Messala nitidus & candidus, & quodammodo præ se ferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam, viribus minor. PLINY informs us, that MESSALA, two years before he died, so entirely lost his memory, as to forget his own name: Sui vero nominis Messala Corvinus orator oblitus. B. vii. Chap. 24.

sufficiently

sufficiently convince us of the abilities of MÆCENAS. A constant harmony subsisted between them; they never gave each other the least cause of uneasiness; they were neither jealous nor envious of each other's felicity; the noblest and most affluent in this *choice group*, were without insolence, the most learned without arrogance. Merit, in whatever shape it appeared, held an honourable station amongst them. HORACE gives us a lively description of the house of MÆCENAS, and of those who frequented it (*l*). The love he expressed for learn-

(*l*) HORACE lived in close connection with all MÆCENAS's friends; he names several of them in his tenth Sat. Book i. and wishes his writings may prove deserving of their approbation; little anxious about the criticisms of idle poetasters, or the insipid railleries of half-witted fellows; in his ixth Sat. of Book i. he draws a fine picture of an impertinent creature, who applied to him to be introduced to MÆCENAS—

ing,

ing, and the favours he continually showered upon those who made any considerable figure, easily determined authors to inscribe and dedicate their works to him. VIRGIL, HORACE, PROPERTIUS, and PEDONIUS afford us excellent proofs of this. The injury of the times has unhappily destroyed many

I will do you all the services there, says he; you shall eclipse all his favourites, and become the chief of them through my means—The poet replies.

*Isto non vivitur illic,
Quo tu rere, modo : domus hac nec purior ulla est,
Nec magis his aliena malis : nil mî officit, inquam,
Ditior hic, aut est quia doctior : est locus uni
Cuique suus.* B. i. Sat. iv.

We live not there, as you suppose,
On such precarious terms as those.
No family was ever purer;
From such infections none securer.
It never hurts me in the least;
That one excels in wealth or taste;
Each person there a place inherits
A place proportion'd to his merits.

FRANCIS.

others,

others, whose titles we can scarcely trace in the ancient writers. PLUTARCH informs us that AUGUSTUS himself dedicated his commentaries to his two intimate friends AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS.

THE house of this great man was always open to *poets* and men of letters—but your CARBILIUS's, ANSERS, your, CORNIFICIUS's, MÆVIUS's, FANNIUS's (*m*), snarling animals of no merit or con-

(*m*) CARBILIUS PICTOR wrote a book against the *Æneids*, entituled the *Æneidomastrix*, which DONATUS very falsely and unjustly charges MÆCENAS with. ANSER was a panegyric poet, and a friend of MARC ANTONY, who made him a present of POMPEY's estate situated in the territory of *Falernum*; this occasioned CICERO to say, *Philip. xiii. De Falerno Anseres depellentur*. Some commentators pretend that VIRGIL meant this ANSER, when in his ixth Eclogue he says,

duct,

duct, were entirely excluded; MÆCENAS never countenanced or admitted such banes to knowledge and learning into his familiarity, who, from a mere principle of spleen and envy, are for

*Nam neque adhuc Varo videor, nec dicere Cinna
Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olores.*

Bucol. ix.

I nor to CINNA's ears, nor VARUS dare aspire,
But gabble like a goose amidst the swan-like
choir.

DRYDEN.

CORNIFICIUS, a very severe epigrammist, was an enemy to VIRGIL, and never ceased spitting his venom at this great poet. MÆVIUS was another despicable bard in those days. VIRGIL and HORACE have made him sufficiently ridiculous to all posterity. FANNIUS QUADRATUS was one of the DENNIS's of his time, and an aukward critic of HORACE's writings, who speaks of him in several of his Satires,

*Beatus Fannius, ultro
Delatis capsis & imagine.*

The pictures and works of the eminent poets were always placed in the *Palatine* library, in honour to them.—FANNIUS, ambitious of the same honour, though very undeserving of it, carried his trash and picture thither himself.

ever

ever dipping their pens in gall; and criticise the writings of the best men from a motive of vanity. How different are the satires of HORACE from this turn? their poignancy glance only at reputations already blasted, at wretched poets, or deceased authors: Abilities are mentioned with respect; he is witty with discretion; nor did the friend of MÆCENAS ever divert himself at the expence of men of merit. The *insects* of *Parnassus* though not admitted into this illustrious company, had their meetings nevertheless. They held their rendezvous at the houses of rich coxcombs, such as the TIGELLII (*n*), whose

(*n*) WE must not, as many have done, confound this TIGELLIUS HERMOGENES with the *Sardinian* TIGELLIUS, whom HORACE wittily lashes in the beginning of his second and third Satires of his first book. The latter was dead at
depraved

depraved taste and malign spirits perfectly agreed with the rhapsodical rhimes and ill-natured lampoons of these poetasters. VIRGIL and HORACE, nay MÆCENAS himself, were not spared amongst them; these great men however laughed at their weakness, and despised their ribaldry:

*Men' moveat (says HORACE) cimex Pan-
tilius? aut crucier, quod
Vellicet absentem Demetrius; aut quod
ineptus
Fannius Hermogenis lædat conviva Ti-
gelli?*

B. i. Sat. x.

the time the poet wrote; he speaks, on the contrary, of the other as of a person then in being; see Sat. iii, iv. and x. This is an observation of DACIER and other commentators. These two TIGELLIUS's however resembled each other in one particular, *viz.* they were both good musicians, and always received bad company at their houses.

Say

Say shall that brag PANTILIUS move
my spleen?

Shall I be tortur'd with a wretch ob-
scene;

Or foolish FANNIUS, for a fordid treat

With sweet TIGELLIUS, shall my verses
rate?

FRANCIS.

This was rightly judged---since the best
way to deal with such insignificant fel-
lows, is, to treat them with contempt.
MÆCENAS not only protected the literati,
but he was himself a man of great
learning, and a judicious writer, both
in prose and in verse (o). He wrote

(o) PRISCIAN tells us MÆCENAS wrote the
tragedy of OCTAVIA; and cites this verse out
of it,

Pexisti capillum naturæ muneribus gratum.

MEIBOMIUS also calls the *Prometheus* of MÆCE-
NAS a tragedy; but SENECA, Epist. xix. says,

G

the

the tragedy of OCTAVIA, the life of AUGUSTUS, a natural history of ani-

that it was a book only which bore that title. Si quæris in quo libro dixerit, in eo qui Prometheus inscribitur—He just before produces a sentence in it, Ipsa enim altitudo attonat summa, which he both criticises as to the sense as well as the diction. SERVIUS on the *Georgics*, Book ii. v. 42. asserts that MÆCENAS wrote the life of AUGUSTUS in prose; and in support thereof quotes the following passage in HORACE:

*tuque pedestribus
Dices historiis prælia Cæsaris,
Mæcenas, melius, ductaque per vias
Regum colla minacium.* B. II. Ode xii.

'Tis thine in stronger prose to tell
The mighty Pow'r of CÆSAR'S war;
How kings beneath his battle fell,
And dragg'd indignant his triumphant car.

PLINY, in his viith book, chap. 45. confirms this sentiment; he is speaking of the reverses of fortune AUGUSTUS sometimes met with, and quotes MÆCENAS and AGRIPPA as vouchers for the truth of his assertion. The author also gives us reason to think MÆCENAS was not less curious in natural history, and that he wrote a treatise on animals, and another on precious stones; for, in his *Elenchus*, he mentions him as one from whom he had borrowed what he says in the ixth, xxxiid, and xxxviith books of his history, where he treats of aquatic animals, the

mals,

mals, a treatise on precious stones, and another entituled *Prometheus*: but time

remedies drawn out of them, and of precious stones. He lays a particular stress on his authority with regard to a marvellous affair which happened in the reign of AUGUSTUS—take his own words: *Divo Augusto principe, Lucrinum lacum invecus pauperis cujusdam puerum ex Baiano, Puteolos in ludum literarium itantem, cum meridiano immotans, appellatum eum Simonis nomine, sæpius fragmentis panis, quem ob id ferebat, alexisset, miro amore dilexit. Pigeret referre, ni res Mæcenatis & Flaviani & Flavii Alfi multorumque esset litteris mandata.* B. ix. c. 7. And it is here to be observed, that the discourse of MÆCENAS to AUGUSTUS, as related by DION in his iid book, is not so perfect but that it wants something in the exordium, as well as in the conclusion of AGRIPPA's speech.

Besides the works I have mentioned, MÆCENAS wrote a book on manners, some fragments of which are taken notice of by SENECA in his cxivth epistle; he also wrote several poems—CHARISIUS, in his first book, repeats one verse, taken from the xth book. The following verse, so much esteemed by the antients, and SENECA himself, was probably quoted out of some of those books.

Nec tumulum curo: sepelit natura relictos.

ISIDORUS, in his Orig. B. xix. c. 32. *De annulis*, has preserved some of MÆCENAS's

and other accidents have robbed us of all these, the bare titles and some few

writings addressed to HORACE on the loss of a friend. TURNEBUS corrects, and reads them thus, in his *Adv.* B. xx. c. 2.

*Lugent, O mea vita! te smaragdus,
Beryllus quoque; Flacce, nec nitentes
Nuper candida margarita, quæras,
Nec quos Thynica lima perpoliuit
Anellos, nec jaspio lapillos.*

TURNEBUS, *ibid.* thinks these verses were made upon the death of HORACE; but this is a mistake, for he out-lived MÆCENAS. We find the following verses in the life of HORACE:

*Ni te visceribus meis, Horati,
Plus jam diligo, tu tuum sodalem
Hinno me videas strigiosorem.*

The following verses, which are also supposed to be of MÆCENAS, are taken from a book, the title of which is not known, by DIOMEDES, a Greek grammarian, B. iii. It is a description of the feasts of Cybele.

*Ades huc, ades, Cybelle dea, Montigena dea,
Age tympano sonanti quate flexibile caput,
Latus horreat flagello, comitum Chorus ululet.*

BARTHIUS, in his *Advers.* B. xvii. ch. 3. cites the first line of these verses, and reads it *Montigera* instead of *Montigena*. But the most celebrated verses of MÆCENAS are quoted by SENE-

fragments

fragments excepted. DION CASSIUS indeed has preserved one discourse en-

EA in his Cist letter, who condemns the sentiments: Inde illud Mæcenatis turpissimum votum: quo & debilitatem non recusat, & deformitatem, & novissime acutam crucem, dummodo inter hæc mala spiritus prorogetur:

*Debilem facito manu,
Debilem pede, coxa :
Tuber adstrue gibberum,
Lubricos quate dentes:
Vita dum superest, bene est.
Hanc mihi, vel acuta
Si sedeam cruce, sustine.*

Quod miserrimum erat, si incidisset, optatur, & tamquam vita petitur, supplicii mora: contemptissimum putarem, si vivere vellet usque ad crucem quid sibi vult ista carminis effœminati turpitude, quid timoris dementissimi pacticio? quid tam fœda vitæ mendicatio?

THE style of MÆCENAS was generally found fault with for its affectation. AUGUSTUS himself, according to SÆTONIUS, was the first to joke him upon it, by affecting, when he wrote letters to him, to imitate his style: Exagibat nonnunquam in primis Mæcenatem suum, cujus *μυροβρεχεῖς*, ut ait, cincinnos, usquequaque persequitur, & imitando per jocum irridet. *Life of Augustus*, c. 86. SENECA nevertheless (who was one of his most avowed enemies) allows him to have had a superior genius, and

ture, which MÆCENAS made when AUGUSTUS proposed the question, whether he should abdicate or not.

THESE were the agreeable amusements of MÆCENAS (*p*): and PEDONIUS (a contemporary poet) says of him, that he was accustomed to pay his court to the Virgin Sisters in his delightful gardens, seated beneath the cool shades of his green spreading trees, whence the delicious birds

great dispositions for eloquence: Ingeniosus vir ille fuit, magnum exemplum Romanæ eloquentiæ daturus, nisi illum enervasset felicitas. *Epist.* xix. And in his cxivth, which is a kind of libel against MÆCENAS, he says, magni ingenii vir fuerat, si non in oratione difflueret.

(*p*) PEDO ALBINOVANUS says, MÆCENAS used to write verses in his fine gardens,

*Pieridas, Phœbumque colens in mollibus hortis
Sederat argutas garrulus inter aves.*

constantly

constantly warble their harmonious songs. Naturally affable, humane, and benevolent, the *belles lettres* but served to polish the innate beauties of his mind, and gave a brilliancy to his inherent virtues. He took a peculiar pleasure in doing good: and, though a court favourite, was so far from injuring any private person, that he studied to avoid even the very suspicion of such a guilt (q). In the highest esteem with

(q) *Omnia cum posses, tanto tam carus amico,
Te sensit nemo velle nocere tamen.*

PEDON. Epiced.

MÆCENAS was of a different character from that against which the Chorus of the second act in SENECA's tragedy of HERCULES on mount Oeta so much exclaims:

*Colit hic reges, calcet ut omnes,
Perdatque aliquos, nullumque levet.
Tantum ut noceat, cupit esse potens.*

MEIBOMIUS errs greatly to quote these verses as from the tragedy of OCTAVIA

his prince, his modesty and affability gained him the love of all the courtiers. The following instance will sufficiently prove in what great favour he was with the *Romans*: being just recovered from a dangerous indisposition, he went to the play; the audience, out of their great zeal and affection, as well as to do him honors, rose upon his first coming into the theatre (*r*), and by a ge-

(*r*) It was customary with the *Romans* to rise whenever a prince, or person of great distinction, came into the publick shews; they offered up their vows, and clapped them at their entrance: people of an odious character, on the contrary, when they appeared, were hissed and hooted out of their theatres. HORACE mentions these honours paid to MÆCENAS by the *Romans*.

*Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
Cantharis, Græca quod ego ipse testa
Conditum levi; datus in theatra*

*Cum tibi plausus,
Chare Mæcenæ eques, ut paterni
Fluminis ripæ, simul & jocosa
Redolent laudes tibi Vaticani*

Montis imago.

B. I. Ode xx.

neral

neral applause, expressed their joy at his late recovery.

A poet's bev'rage humbly cheap
(Should great MÆCENAS be my guest)
Crude vintage of the *Sabine* grape,
But yet in sober cups, shall crown the feast:
'Twas rack'd into a *Grecian* cask,
Its rougher juice to melt away,
I seal'd it too—a pleasing task,
With annual joy to mark that glorious day,
When in applausive shouts, thy name
Spread from the theatres around,
Floating on thy own *Tiber's* stream,
And *Echo*, playful nymph, return'd the sound.
FRANCIS.

*Te Jovis impio
Tutela Saturno refulgens
Eripuit, volucrisque fati
Tardavit alas, cum populus frequens
Faustum theatris ter crepuit sonum.*

B. II. Ode xvii.

Thee, Jove's bright influence snatch'd away
From baleful SATURN's impious ray,
And stopp'd the rapid wings of fate,
When the full theatre elate
With joyful transports hail'd thy name,
And thrice unprais'd the loud acclaim.

FRANCIS.

HE

HE was in high esteem with all conditions of men---his slaves adored him: his kindness to them seemed to lighten their chains, and made even servitude agreeable; liberty was no misfortune to them, since they served so good a master. SÜETONIUS relates a very extraordinary story upon this occasion, which I beg leave to insert here: C. MELISSUS, born at *Spoletum* (s), of free parents, was, upon account of their misunderstandings, exposed in his infancy; falling happily into the hands of a person who gave him a liberal education, he became an excellent grammarian, and as such was given as a

(s) SPOLETO, the capital of a duchy of *Ambria*, in the ecclesiastical state in *Italy*, near the *Tessin*; 52 mile N. E. of *Rome*.

present

present to MÆCENAS. He behaved so well, that he was treated more like a friend than a slave. His mother afterwards reclaimed him, and declared, by laying her hands upon him, according to ancient custom, that he was born free; but MELISSUS preferred his situation to the privileges of his birth: MÆCENAS, however, not only presented him with his freedom, but made him one of his companions (*t*). He was not the

(*t*) The freemen generally assumed the name and surname of their masters. MELISSUS with the consent of MÆCENAS, took that of CAIUS CILNIUS MELISSUS. AUGUSTUS, into whose favour he had insinuated himself, made him his librarian. At the age of sixty he wrote some humorous books, and invented a new sort of comedy. *Fecit & novum genus togatarum, inscripsitque Trabeatas*, says, SÜETONIUS of him, in his book *Of illustrious grammarians*. He was both a poet and a grammarian. OVID in the ivth book *De Ponto*, Eleg. xvi. speaks of MELISSUS's comedies:

only

only one who happily met with such treatment: AQUILA and THALATION were men of great wit and abilities, ornaments both to their master and to the world.---We shall by and by have occasion to speak of them.

*Musaque Turanni tragicis innixa coturnis,
Et tua cum socco Musa, Melisse, levi.*

HEINSIUS, in his remark on this last verse, says, that the humorous writings of MELISSUS were fables, somewhat in the manner of ESOP. Id enim scribendi genus jocos vocabant. PHÆDRUS calls his fables so:

*Tu qui nasute scripta dstringis mea,
Et hoc jocorum legere fastidis genus.*

Several learned men are of opinion that MÆCENAS MESSIUS, mentioned by PLINY in the xxviiiith Book ch. vi. is the same with this free-man MÆCENAS, and that we should read it MÆCENATEM MELISSUM. The naturalist informs us, that he spoke not a word for three years, in order to be cured of a spitting of blood. Sermoni parci multis de causis salutare est. Triennio Mæcenatem Messium accepimus silentium sibi imperavisse, a convulsione reddito sanguine.

HIS

HIS excellent qualities endeared him to AUGUSTUS; he liked that honest bluntnefs in MÆCENAS, which is so seldom met with in courtiers and the favourites of princes; he was a stranger to dissimulation and a bitter enemy to mean and abject adulation. The *Roman* prince attentively pursued the wise counfels of his minister, and was fully fatisfied with the consequences of such a condescension.

AUGUSTUS was of a choleric and revengeful disposition, and often stood in great need of such a friend as MÆCENAS, to moderate and curb the impetuosity of his passions; of this DION gives us a remarkable instance: AUGUSTUS, on a particular occasion, being in the
feat

seat of justice, and giving way to his cruelty, was on the point of condemning several poor prisoners to die: MÆCENAS, not being able to get at him for the croud, threw him his tablets, on which he had wrote these words, *Rise, hangman*: AUGUSTUS, on reading the contents, left the court without condemning one. The reproof seems severe; but MÆCENAS knew his master well, and was assured, he never took offence at his liberties; but that on the contrary was pleased his friends would engage him to recollection, whenever his passions became too predominant. MÆCENAS never insinuated himself in to favour by cringing, nor ever flattered his prince's imperfections. *Honour, honesty, and true knowledge* were the basis on which they had founded their reciprocal

4

procal friendship ; and though AUGUSTUS became lord of the world, MÆCENAS ever nobly preserved his honest and generous sincerity.

He was no less remarkable for his discretion. He spoke little, but to the purpose (*u*), and was in the most eminent degree qualified in this particular; an accomplishment of infinite use to those who converse much with mankind, and more especially to such as are entrusted with the confidence and affairs of princes. He is charged however with having once transgressed in this point: In 731, FANNIUS CÆPIO conspired against the Emperor's life :

(*u*) In amicos fidus extitit. Quorum præcipui erant ob taciturnitatem Mæcenas, &c.

MURENA

MURENA, brother-in-law of MÆCENAS, was suspected as an accomplice in this conspiracy; MÆCENAS, well apprized of it, and apprehending the consequence, discovered the secret to his wife TERENTIA. The conspirators were summoned to appear, but disobeying the summons, were condemned to banishment, and afterwards put to death. Nor could the joint interests of PROCULEUS, MURENA's brother, nor that of his brother-in-law avail him. AUGUSTUS was displeased at MÆCENAS for this piece of indiscretion. DION endeavours to palliate this circumstance, by saying MURENA probably might have been unjustly (x) suspected, and

(x) Καὶ τινες καὶ διὰ τὴν Τερέντιαν τὴν τῆς Μαικηνῆς γυναῖκα ἀποδημησάαι αὐτὸν ὑπέλοπθον, ἵν' ἐπειδὴν πολλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ ἐλογοδοιοῖτο, ἀνευδρῶς τινος ἐν τῇ ἀλλοθιμίᾳ αὐτῇ σὺνῃ DION, B. liv.

that

that MÆCENAS acted in this affair from a principle of extreme fondness for TERENTIA. Be this as it will, the emperor soon forgot his resentment, as we may see by what follows.

AUGUSTUS was gone into *Sicily*, in order to proceed to *Asia*, when he was informed that there were great commotions at *Rome* about the choice of consuls. He sent AGRIPPA therefore to *Rome*, and nominated him a second time prefect, to put an end to these feuds and disturbances; and to give him the greatest *eclat*, obliged him to divorce his wife MARCELLA, though a daughter of his sister OCTAVIA, whose consent for this purpose he had engaged; and commanded him to marry his own
H daughter

daughter JULIA (x), young MARCELLUS's widow (y); thus loading him at once with honour and infamy. Some were of opinion AUGUSTUS had other motives in view by this alliance. It is dangerous to be serviceable to princes of AUGUSTUS's character. The reputation AGRIPPA acquired by his many signal victories, went nigh to ruin him. AUGUSTUS grew jealous of his power, and was even weak enough to fear him; though the probity, friend-

(x) M. DE S. REAL, in his fragments on the life of AUGUSTUS, is mistaken in his chronology, when he says AGRIPPA was married to JULIA immediately after the defeat of the younger POMPEY, which happened in the year of Rome 718; for she could only be four years old at that time, AUGUSTUS having married SCRIBONIA her mother in 713.

(y) Marco Agrippæ nuptum dedit Juliam, exorata sorore, ut sibi genero cederet. SÆTON. *Vit. August.* Cap. 63.

ship, and fidelity of this prudent general, of which he had received so many repeated proofs, could never admit the least room for so unaccountable a suspicion. He was deliberating on his ruin, and consulted MÆCENAS thereupon; "AGRIPPA, my lord, is so powerful," replied the favourite, with his usual openness, "*that you must either make him your son-in-law, or dispatch him out of the way.*"

THE emperor, on his return from Syria, passed through Athens, and brought VIRGIL back with him into Italy. This admirable poet died in Calabria (z), and appointed AUGUSTUS

(z) The most southern part of the kingdom of Naples, divided from Sicily by the Faro di Messina.

and MÆCENAS his heirs in part, out of gratitude for the many favours they had conferred on him. He always had held a literary correspondence with them, an honour he greatly deserved; and which his illustrious patrons, in their turn, esteemed as one done to themselves.

AUGUSTUS and AGRIPPA now ordered the grand Secular games to be celebrated at *Rome* (a), which were

(a) THE Secular games were instituted in the year of *Rome* 245, after the expulsion of the Tarquins, by the consul VALERIUS PUBLICOLA, to appease the anger of the gods, after the city had been afflicted with the plague. These games were interdicted by the *Sibylline* oracle, which ordained, that they should be solemnized every 110 Years only; this however was not always punctually observed. AUGUSTUS kept them in the year of *Rome* 737, and the emperor CLAUDIUS in the year 800, because it was the beginning of a century. SUE-
TONIUS, in his life of CLAUDIUS, Chap. 21.

solemnised

solemnised once in a hundred years.

MÆCENAS was a great admirer of public

relates the people's mirth upon this occasion; for they were invited, according to the ancient custom, to come and assist at these games, which never were, and never would be seen again—since many then lived, who had been present at those given by AUGUSTUS. Quare vox præconis irrita est invitantis more solenni ad ludos, quos nec spectasset quisquam nec spectaturus esset: cum superessent adhuc qui spectaverant, & quidam histrionum producti olim, tunc quoque producerentur. MORERI, in his dictionary, under the article of of SECULAR GAMES, is mistaken, to fix this jest upon DOMITIAN, when in reality SÆTONIUS speaks of the games of CLAUDIUS. It is true, the people had more reason to be merry at those of DOMITIAN, if the same proclamation was issued as at the former, because they were celebrated but forty years after. The most magnificent games were solemnized in the year of Rome 1000, by the emperor PHILIP. This feast was kept three days and three nights, in the beginning of harvest. Sacrifices were offered to all the Gods. But these games were more particularly sacred to APOLLO and DIANA. HORACE wrote the secular Ode to be sung at these feasts by the special command of AUGUSTUS.

Phœbe, silvarumque potens Diana,

Lucidum cœli decus, o coleudi

thens;

shews; it suited the *Roman* taste. The emperor honoured them with his presence, both out of inclination as well as policy; his favourite advised him to give frequent entertainments of that kind; and to assist at them himself, in order to gain the people's affections, to divert them from their seditious cabals

*Semper, & culti, date quæ precamur
Tempore sacro.*

*Quo Sibyllini monuere versus
Virgines lectas, puerosque castos
Diis, quibus septem placuere colles,
Dicere carmen.*

Carm. Secul.

Ye radiant glories of the skies,
Ever-beaming God of light,
Sweetly-shining Queen of night;
Beneath whose wrath the wood-born savage dies;
Ye pow'rs to whom with endless praise
A grateful world its homage pays;
Let our pray'r, our pray'r be heard,
Now in this solemn hour preferr'd,
When by the Sibyl's dread command,
Of spotless maids a chosen train,
Of spotless youths a chosen band,
To all our guardian Gods uplift the hallow'd
strain.

FRANCIS.

by

by such like amusements, and to make them more obedient to his laws (*b*).

THE same year AUGUSTUS undertook a voyage into *Gaul*, at that time infested by the *Germans*, with a pretence to restore peace; but it was in effect to avoid becoming odious to the people, by staying too long at *Rome*, in punishing the disobedient, or being constrained to weaken the law's authority, by too much indulgence and lenity. Some conjectured this voyage was undertaken upon *TERENTIA*'s account

(*b*) We have a fine answer, which was made AUGUSTUS by the famous *PYLADES*, out of *DION CASSIUS*, B. liv. This player, having a dispute with *BATHYLLUS* his competitor, the quarrel occasioned some disturbance among the people who were present at the shew. The emperor expressed himself angrily to *PYLADES* upon that occasion, who replied, Συμφορεῖ σοι, Καίσαρ, περὶ ἡμᾶς τὸν δῆμον διατρίβειν. Expedit tibi, Cæsar, circa nos populum tempus terere.

only, in order to enjoy her company with less restraint (c). She was one of

(c) TERENTIA was a sister of PROCULEIUS, eminent for his fraternal love, and of LICINIUS MURAENA, who conspired against AUGUSTUS. It is highly probable that it is she, whom HORACE celebrates so much for beauty and accomplishments, and calls by the name of LICYNIA, and that MÆCENAS was so extravagantly fond of before he married her.

Me dulces dominæ Musa Licymnia

Cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum

Fulgentes oculos, & bene mutuis

Fidum pectus amoribus :

Num tu, quæ tenuit dives Achæmenes,

Aut pinguis Phrygiæ Mygdonias opes,

Permutare velis crine Liciniæ,

Plenas aut Arabum domos ? Odexii. B. ii.

LICYMNIA's voice, LICYMNIA's eye,

Bright darting its resplendent ray,

The breast where love and friendship lie,

The Muse commands me sing in softer lay.

Say, shall the wealth by kings possess,

Or the rich diadems they wear,

Or all the treasure of the east,

Purchase one lock of my LICYMNIA's hair?

FRANCIS.

He mentions his patron's love for this woman in another place, where he compares her to HELEN for beauty :

the

the finest women of the age; but so vain of her beauty, that she even dared to dispute it with LIVIA. Gay, extravagant, and ill-natured, there often arose misunderstandings between her and MÆCENAS: They often parted, but not for any time; the fond husband was neither easy with, nor without her, which made SENECA say of him, that he had been a thousand times married, though he had but one wife: Hunc esse, qui uxorem millies duxit, cum unam habuerit. It is not probable that he winked at this familiarity, for DION

Ureris ipse miser: quod si non pulchrior ignis

Accendit obsessam Ilion,

Gaude sorte tua.

EPOD. xiv.

So great was his fondness for her, that he used to compare her, according to DION CASSIUS, to LIVIA for beauty. ἔτω γὰρ ἐν παντὶ αὐτῆς ἡρα, ὥστε καὶ ἀγωνισαῖσθαι ποτε αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς καλλείας πρὸς τὴν Λιβίαν ποιῆσαι. B. liv.

CASSIUS

CASSIUS tells us, MÆCENAS fell out with AUGUSTUS upon that account.

THE emperor appointed STATILIUS TAURUS prefect of *Rome* before his departure; because AGRIPPA was in the east, and MÆCENAS was of the party that attended him into *Gaul*. DION CASSIUS pretends, that AUGUSTUS was a little angry with his favourite, because he appeared uneasy at his amorous intercourses with TERENTIA; but in fact the reason why he would not re-accept of the government of *Rome* (a trust of which he was so highly capable) is, that he loved a quiet life, and desired nothing more than to enjoy peace and tranquillity after so many fatigues. TAURUS came in by the interest of MÆCENAS. He had advised AUGUSTUS to prefer none to
the

the prefecture who had not first passed through all the other civil employments, and were by this previous and judicious step rendered the more fit to govern and to dispense justice in *Rome*, and out of it to a certain district, during his absence. Thus the modest favourite, who had it in his power to engross all places to himself, rather chose to bestow the most honourable posts in the empire on others, satisfied with his equestrian dignity (*d*).

(*d*) PROPERTIUS has given us a very fine description of the modesty of MÆCENAS, who never was anxious about honours and titles, and was always faithful to AUGUSTUS.

*Et tua, Mæcenas, vitæ præcepta recepi;
Cogor & exemplis te superare tuis.*

*Quum tibi Romano dominas in honore secures,
Et liceat medio ponere jura foro :*

*Vel tibi Medorum pugnaces ire per hostes,
Atque onerare tuam fixa per arma domum :*

*Et tibi ad effectum vires det Cæsar, & omni
Tempore tam faciles insinuentur opes :*

THE emperor staid three years in Gaul; and having re-established peace,

*Parcis, & in tenues humilem te colligis umbras,
Velorum plenos subtrahis ipse sinus.*

*Crede mihi magnos æquabunt ista Camillos
Judicia, & venies tu quoque in ora virum:*

Cæsaris & famæ vestigia juncta tenebis:

Mæcenatis erunt vera tropæa fides.

L. iii. Eleg. vii.

DION CASSIUS, in his 1vth book, speaking of the good qualities of MÆCENAS, says, Virtutis Mæcenatis maximum indicium fuit, quod Augusti cupiditatibus cum resisteret, tamen ab eo inter familiares habitus, reliquis omnibus se probavit; & quod cum plurimum apud illum posset, adeo ut ab eo multos honores & magistratus impetraret, tamen animo nihil elatus, in equestri statu vitam exegerit.

VELLEIUS gives us the same testimonials of his modesty—Non minus Agrippâ Cæsari carus [Mæcenas] sed minus honoratus: quippe vixit angusto clavo pœne contentus; nec majora consequi non potuit, sed non tam concupivit.

THE order of knights was next to the senatorial, and was the second rank of nobility among the Romans. They were called *Equites*, because the commonwealth presented them with a horse and a gold ring. They wore a robe like unto that of the senators, tufted with

returned

returned to *Rome*. The year following AGRIPPA, on his return from (e) PAN-
NONIA where he had been to quell
the rebellion, died in *Campania*. He
was a man of great honesty, and the
most able captain in his time. His
actions were a proof that *true nobility*
consisted in *virtue* only, since, descend-
ed from an obscure family, his valour
and conduct had raised him to the
highest dignity and honour. AUGUS-
TUS and MÆCENAS were but too
sensible of their loss in so valuable a
friend. The emperor in particular lost
one of the steadiest and firmest props
of his throne. Informed of his indis-
gold or purple, with this difference only, that
the studs on the tufts of knights were smaller
than those of the senators: this is what is
meant by the *latus clavus, angustus clavus*.

(e) Now *Hungary*.

position,

position, AUGUSTUS hastened away to see him, but he was dead before he could arrive. His body was transported to *Rome*, where he was buried with the utmost magnificence, and AUGUSTUS himself publicly pronounced his funeral oration.

MÆCENAS was now advancing in years; but the grey hairs of a great minister, and a man of learning, are venerable: he passed the remainder of his days in an agreeable ease, in the pleasing conversation of those illustrious friends he had so happily selected. Nor had he been wanting in his respect to the *Roman* ladies, whose wit and beauty made them the ornaments of all polite companies. MÆCENAS is even accused of having carried his gal-

lantries

lantries a little too far amongst them. Rome, in those days, had her *contented* and *complaisant* husbands. GALBA having invited MÆCENAS to supper, and perceiving his guest familiarly ogling his wife, very obligingly feigned himself asleep (*f*): a servant who imagined his master was really so, went up to the buffet in order to help himself to some wine. "Rascal, said GALBA, can't you see that it is for MÆCENAS only that I sleep?" He is suspected to have been one of the celebrated JULIA's gallants,

(*f*) JUVENAL, Satire first, mentions a person who imitated GALBA in this, and pretended sleep in complaisance to his wife and her gallant.

*Doctus spectare lacunar,
Doctus & ad calicem vigilantem stertere naso.*

Who his taugth eyes up to the cieling throws,
And sleeps all over but his wakeful nose.

DRYDEN.

a conquest

a conquest of no great difficulty indeed: It is even surmised, that his passion for that lady, was the cause of OVID's banishment, who unluckily happened to be one of his rivals. And there is the greater probability for this conjecture, since we do not find the name of MÆCENAS so much as once mentioned in the works of that poet (g). DION tells

(g) IF OVID takes no notice of MÆCENAS in his works, we must not therefore conclude that they were rivals, and that this rivalry was the occasion of his banishment, as some people suspected, according to LILIUS GYRALDUS, *Dialog. iv.* Sunt & qui de Mæcenate nihil non suspicentur, quem quod nunquam nominavit, nescio quid de Julia confingunt. But this silence might have been owing to a different cause: He might not probably have known MÆCENAS, no more than he did VIRGIL, whom he had only seen:

*Virgilium vidi tantum: nec avara Tibullo
Tempus amicitiae fata dedere mee.*

Trist. B. iv. Eleg. x.

us,

us, that this favourite minister made no scruple to plead, in conjunction with APULEIUS, the cause of a person charged with adultery. This however could do neither of them honour: AUGUSTUS came into court on the day of replication, and being seated in the *prætor's* tribunal or chair, he ordered the plaintiff to be careful of what he said, and not to throw reflexions upon his friends and relations.

MÆCENAS, if we may credit TACITUS, towards the decline of his life, lost much of the emperor's favour. This happens frequently, says the historian, through the inconstancy of fortune; because princes, have either nothing more to bestow, or their favourites nothing

thing more to ask or desire (*b*). But these are the reflexions of a politician; the reason of this coolness between them never transpired; we are sure, however, they were soon reconciled: AUGUSTUS's friends never lost their rank or power, except RUFUS and CORNELIUS GALLUS (*i*). MÆCENAS, for his part, was ever attached to his master, and devoted to his service. He never forgot to make AUGUSTUS a present yearly on his birth day (*k*); who,

(*b*) IDQUE & Mæcenati acciderat: fato potentiae raro sempiternæ: an fatias capit, aut illos, cum omnia tribuerunt; aut hos, cum jam nihil reliquum est quod cupiant. *Ann. L. iii. cap. 30.*

(*i*) See SÆTONTIUS, cap. 66.

(*k*) It was an ancient custom with the Romans to send presents to their friends on their birthdays: A Mæcenate suo familiari Augustus quotannis natali die Phialam accipiebat donariam.

whenever

whenever he was indisposed, always resided with his favourite till he was recovered (1). This prevailing custom among the antients shews in what sacred esteem friendship was held amongst

PLUT. in *Apopb. Reg. & Princ.* They also made their emperors a present every new year's day; and what at first was a custom only, became at length a law under the emperors ARCADIVS and HONORIUS. *Lege unicâ, Cod. B. xii. tit. 49. De oblatione votorum.* Quando votis communibus felix annus aperitur, in unâ librâ auri & solidis obryzatis principibus offerendi devotionem animo libenti suscipimus: statuentes, ut deinceps sequentibus annis unius cujusque sedulitas principibus suis talia inferat semper & deferat. *Dat. 3 nonas Mart. Med. Olybrio & Probino Coss.*

(1) THE Romans, when they were sick, were accustomed to be conveyed to their friends houses in order to their recovery. SÆTONIVS, agreeably to this, says, *Æger Augustus in domo Mæcenatis cubabat.* And PLINY the younger, in his xvith Epist. B. vii. speaking of his intimate friend CALESTRIUS TYRO, Ego, says he, in villas ejus sæpe secessi, ille in domo meâ sæpe convaluit; and PLUTARCH in his *Apopbth.* chap. 28. Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λαγὺς τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδείπνει καὶ ἐκάθευδεν.

them. The house of MÆCENAS, though situated on the (m) *Esquilin* hill, was nevertheless raised higher, and was spaciouſly and magnificently built (n).

(m) Monte di S. Maria maggiore.

(n) THE ninth Ode of the Epodes of HORACE informs us, that the house of MÆCENAS was raised,

*Quando repostum cæcubum ad festas dapes
Victore lætus Cæsare,
Tecum sub alta (sic Jovi gratum) domo,
Beate Mæcenæ, bibam?*

When shall we quaff, my lord, the flowing wine,
Reserv'd for pious feasts, and joys divine?
CÆSAR with conquest comes; and gracious JOVE,
Who gave that conquest, shall our joys approve.

FRANCIS.

The house and tower of MÆCENAS, according to some, are one and the same building. HORACE, B. iii. Ode xxix. describes the prodigious height of this tower:

*Fastidiosam desere copiam
Molem propinquam nubibus arduis:
Omitte mirari beatæ
Fumum & opes strepitumque Romæ.*

NERO beheld the desolation of Rome, which he had set on fire, from the top of this tower—Hoc

The roof shone with gold; the walls were of the finest marble; the floor answered to the magnificence of the cielings, and the furniture was equally superb with the whole. Here he gave the most elegant and delicate entertainments, which, for taste, fancy, novelty, and variety (*o*), were inimitable. His table was served with the finest and the most delicious wines; among which, one was of *Italian* growth, to which it is imagined he gave his own name (*p*). He dressed with a stutincendium e turri Mæcenatianâ prospectans, lætusque flammæ, ut aiebat, pulchritudine, αλωσιν Ilii in illo suo scenico habitu decantavit, says SUTONIUS, in his *Life of Nero*.

(*o*) Pullos earum epulari Mæcenas instituit, &c. PLIN. B. viii. chap. 43.

(*p*) IN Mediterraneo verò Cefenatia ac Mæcenatiana. PLINY, B. xiv. chap. vi.

died elegance (*q*), and generally wore a purple robe with a long train, and often walked with AUGUSTUS and his other friends in his sumptuous gardens, adjoining to his house, ornamented with statues of the most exquisite sculpture. The emperor, with the consent of the senate and people, had given him the ground (*r*). There was, according

(*q*) ——— Vestem
Purpuream, teneris quoque Mæcenatibus aptam.
Juvenal, Sat. xii. *ŷ*. 78.

(*r*) THE spot of ground given to MÆCENAS, to lay out in gardens, had formerly been a burying place, where the bodies of the common people, and of those who had squandered away their estates, were confusedly interred; it was for that reason the air was unwholesome there, and its neighbourhood infectious and troublesome to Rome.

*Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
Conseruus vili portanda locabat in arca:
Hic miseræ plebi statat commune sepulcrum,
Pantolabo scurræ, Nomentanoque nepoti.*

.

to antient custom, a small temple in his gardens, consecrated to PRIAPUS, on the walls of which the poets, who paid their court to MÆCENAS, used to write verses in a style fuitable to the divinity (*r*)

*Nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus, atque
Aggere in aprico spatium: qua modo tristes
Albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum.*

HOR. B. i. S. viii.

In coffins vile the herd of slaves
Were hither brought to croud their graves;
And once in this detested ground
A common tomb the vulgar found;
Buffoons and spendthrifts, vile and base,
Together rotted here in peace.

But now we breathe a purer air,
And walk the sunny terraces fair,
Where once the ground with bones was white,
With human bones, a ghastly sight.

FRANCIS.

(*r*) ERAT in his hortis (says LILIUS GYRALDUS, *Dial.* iv.) Priapi facellum, ut scitis morem antiquis fuisse, teste etiam Columella, ad quod convenientes poetæ pro re & loco carmina affigebant, ut hoc tempore Romæ quotannis Paschillo, quæ jussu Mæcenatis a Virgilio collecta, nunc Virgilii nomine circumferuntur—Quod ut illa Virgilii non esse existimem—quod is fuit

of the place; MÆCENAS collected and published them under the title of *PRIAPI*, which some have unjustly ascribed to *VIRGIL*, others to *OVID* and *MARTIAL*. He also built a tower of a prodigious height, from whence he had a full prospect of the city and circumjacent country. It was from this summit the cruel *NERO* beheld *Rome* in flames. It is however doubted whether this house and tower were not one and the same building. To this his happy retirement we owe (besides his literary works, of which we have already spoken) the invention of notes, or short-hand, for the conveniency of dispatch (*s*); he pub-

Virgilius qui ob verecundos & virginales mores, vulgo, ut paulo ante dicebamus, Parthenias est appellatus. Ab aliis Ovidio Nasoni ascribuntur.

(*s*) *THE short-hand, quibus, quamvis citata excipitur oratio, & celeritatem linguæ manus*

lished

lished the book and instructions, under the care and assistance of his freeman AQUILA. He also introduced warm

sequitur, says SENECA, was invented upon account of the secretaries of the senate-house: by which means they easily collected the speeches that were made there; and for this they were called Notaries. They were also called Cursores, quia notis verba cursim expediebant. Authors are not agreed upon the first inventor of this method of short-hand writing. Some pretend it was the poet ENNIUS, others affirm it was TYRO, CICERO's freeman; and that AQUILA, a freeman belonging to MÆCENAS, afterwards further improved upon it. SENECA the elder at length collected and put them into some order, and published them under the title of *Notæ Tullii Tyronis & Annæi Senecæ, sive Characteres, quibus utebantur Romani in scripturâ compendiariâ*. This short-hand was invented, says SENECA the philosopher, in his xcth Epistle, by a parcel of vile slaves—*Quid verborum notas, quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio, & celeritatem linguæ manus sequitur? Vilissimorum mancipiorum ista commenta sunt.* DION CASSIUS however fairly attributes it to MÆCENAS, και πρωτος Μαικενης, says he, σημεια τινα γραμματων προς ταχος εξευρε, και αυτα δια Ακυλα απελευθερσ συχνης εξεδιδαξε.

baths into *Rome* (*t*) for the use of the public. They were large reservoirs filled with warm water, in which they could swim as well as bathe; a com-

(*t*) MÆCENAS was the first person who introduced hot baths at *Rome*, according to DION. —πρωτος τε κολυμβηθραν θερμῃ ὕδατος ἐν τῇ πόλει καλεσκευασε. SYLBURGIUS suspects this historian to have mistaken MÆCENAS for AGRIPPA, because the *Latin* authors only mention the latter; but DION, who lived towards the latter end of the second century, and the beginning of the third, is an author of no bad authority. The cold baths were of a much older date. There were public ones for the people to bathe and learn to swim in. VEGETIUS, *De Milit. Rom.* B. i. chap. 10. mentions this, and shews the usefulness of it to soldiers. History tells us, it saved JULIUS CÆSAR in his *Alexandrian* expedition. The field of *Mars* was near the banks of the *Tiber*: the *Romans*, after having gone through their military exercises, bathed in this river. The *Roman* youth without distinction learnt to swim. SÆTONIUS, talking of AUGUSTUS, chap. 64. says, *Nepotes, & litteras & natate aliaque rudimenta per se plerumque docuit.* He farther observes, that CALIGULA could not swim, *Atque hic, tam docilis ad cætera, natate nesciit.* *Life of Calig.* chap. 54. The ancients bathed before meals, and generally used some exercises previous to it.

mon custom with the *Romans* for the preservation of their health, and particularly useful to military men. He was was very curious in his collections of pearls and other precious stones, which THALATION, another of his freemen, engraved and set in gold for him. He loved walking, and in order to preserve his health played at tennis (u), in imitation of AUGUS-

(u) TENNIS was an exercise MÆCENAS greatly delighted in, as we are told by HORACE in the description he gives us of their voyage to *Brundisium*. He further observes, that VIRGIL and he were not fond of this game, for the reason he there assigns :

Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.

Lusum it Mæcenas, dormitum ego, Virgiliusque :

Namque pila lippis inimicum & ludere crudis.

Sat. v. B. i.

Early next morn to *Capua* we came ;
MÆCENAS goes to Tennis ; hurtful game
To a weak appetite, and tender eyes ;
So down to sleep with VIRGIL FLACCUS lies.

FRANCIS.

TUS,

TUS (x), who was fond of this exercise. Amidst these amusements and pleasures of every kind, he finished his days: he was always subject to a fever (y), and

We are here to observe, that it was Fives the Romans and Greeks used to play at: they used four different sorts of balls. 1. Trigonalis, parva, quam tres lufores, figurâ trigonem exprimente, distincti sibi invicem reddebant. 2. Harpastum, parva item pila e corio facta, quam, solo percussam, raptam revocabant, unde nomen ab ἀρπάζω, rapio. 3. Follis, magna pila, ex alutâ confecta, & vento distenta; si major brachiis, si minor pugnīs, impelli solita. 4. Paganica, quâ in pagis ludebatur, & farciebatur plumâ. MARTIAL describes this last B. xiv. Epig. xlv.

*Hæc quæ difficilis turget Paganica plumâ,
Folle minus laxa est, & minus arcta pilâ.*

See the same poet, B. iv. Epig. xix. B. vii. Epig. xxxi. This game took its appellation from the palm of the hand, with which they were at first accustomed to strike the ball; this custom even prevails still, in many places.

(x) See SÆTON. *Life of Augustus*, chap. 83.

(y) PLINY takes notice of the fever and incapacity of sleeping, with which MÆCENAS

for

for the three last years of his life was much troubled with a continual watching, occasioned probably by his past fatigues, and not, as SENECA says, who was an avowed censor of the actions of this great man, in consequence of his jealousy of his wife TERENTIA (z). Instruments of music and the murmurings of waters (a) were the remedies

was afflicted: Quibusdam perpetua febris est, ut C. Mæcenati: eidem triennio supremo, nullo horæ momento contigit somnus. He adds the following example: Antipater Sidonius poeta omnibus annis, uno die tantum natali, corripiebatur feбри & eo consumptus est satis longâ senectâ. B. vii. ch. 51.

(z) FELICIOREM ergo tu Mæcenatem putas, cui amoribus anxio, & morosæ uxoris quotidiana repudia deflenti, somnus per symphoniarum cantum ex longinquo bene resonantium quæritur? *De provident.* chap. 3.

(a) THE method MÆCENAS took to remove his want of sleep, was not at all particular to himself. Every body knows, that the fall of waters will invite us to repose; HORACE recommended

recommended to him for this disorder;
 SENECA again adds, *wine also, and all*
 cribes this very elegantly in his second Ode of
 the Epod.

*Labuntur altis interim ripis aquæ ;
 Queruntur in silvis aves ;
 Fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
 Somnos quod invitet leves.*

Where pours the mountain stream along,
 And feather'd warblers chant the soothing
 song ;
 Or where the lucid fountain flows,
 And with its murmurs courts him to repose.

CELSUS, a celebrated physician, who lived in
 the reign of TIBERIUS, recommends the same
 thing : *Confert etiam aliquid ad somnum Sila-*
nus juxta cadens. As to music, it has the self-
 same effect, and another advantage, of agreeably
 enlivening the spirits, and giving new vigour,
 when we return to business. Pythagoreis, says
 QUINTILIAN, B. ix. chap. 4. *Inst. orat. moris*
fuit, & cum evigilassent animos ad lyram exci-
tare, quo essent ad agendum erectiores : & cum
somnum peterent ad eandem prius lenire mentes,
ut si quid fuisset turbidiorum cogitationum com-
ponerent. CENSORINUS, *De die Natal.* chap.
 12. says the same thing of PYTHAGORAS. The
 wise *Indians*, as PHILOSTRATUS reports in his
Vit. Apollon. B. ii. chap. 14. conducted their
 kings to rest with the sound of instruments.
 MONTAGNE says the same thing of his father :

manner

manner of voluptuousness. HORACE, however, contradicts this assertion, and gives us an account of his sobriety. The sumptuous entertainments he gave, were more for his friends than himself. It became a man of his rank and fortune, a prefect of *Rome*, and the favourite of the emperor of the world, to keep a splendid table; but he was better pleased with the conversation of his illustrious guests, than with any other part of his feasts; and he very frequently partook of their frugal repasts. A wise *Epicurean*, he loved pleasure in moderation. DION mentions the advice he gave the emperor upon

“He used to have me waked by the sound of
“some instrument, and never was without a
“servant to attend me for that purpose.”
Essays, B. i. chap. 25.

that subject (*b*). This severe Stoic was the only person who taxes him with drunkenness and debauchery. All men know what a natural tendency music, and the agreeable noise of fountains have, to engage us to repose; besides,

(*b*) DION CASSIUS mentions the advice which MÆCENAS used to give AUGUSTUS concerning frugality and œconomy: he exhorts his prince, *ut continenter vivat, nihilque prodigere videatur: sed domui parcimoniâ, in Rempublicam liberalitate utatur.* HORACE, in several of his Odes, invites his MÆCENAS to a frugal entertainment,

*Plerumque gratæ divitibus vices,
Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum,
Cœnæ, sine aulæis & ostro,
Sollicitam explicuere frontem.*

B. iii. Ode xxix.

To frugal treats, and humble cells,
With grateful change the wealthy fly,
Where health-preserving plainness dwells,
Far from the carpet's gaudy dye.
Such scenes have charm'd the pangs of care,
And smooth'd the clouded forehead of despair.

FRANCIS.

his

his friend ANTONIUS MUSA (c), physician to AUGUSTUS, may, no doubt, have prescribed them to him. SENECA was therefore highly to blame to reproach MÆCENAS, and to pretend that these were indulgencies of a luxurious and an effeminate taste (d); he

(c) ANTONIUS MUSA, a freeman of AUGUSTUS, having recovered him from a dangerous disorder, was loaded with honours, and had a statue of brass erected to him by his prince next to that of ÆSCULAPIUS. He and the rest of the brethren of the faculty were made freemen of Rome, and, like those of the *Equestrian* order, had the prerogative of wearing a gold ring; this happened in the year of Rome 730. Medico Antonio Musæ, cujus opera ex ancipiti morbo convalescerat, statuam, ære collato, juxta signum Æsculapii statuerunt, says SÆTONTIUS in his *Life of Augustus*, chap. 89. and DION CASSIUS observes, Καὶ δια τὸτο καὶ χρηματίζα παρὰ τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ, καὶ παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς πολλὰ, καὶ τὸ χρυσοῖς δακτύλοις χρῆσθαι· τὴν τε ἀτελείαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτέχνουσι, εἶχ' ὅτι τοῖς τότε ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπειτα ἐσομένοις ἐλάβεν. B. llii.

(d) Extat certi elegia inter opuscula, quæ Virgilii nomine circumferuntur, de Mæcenatis obitu, in qua abunde Mæcenas defenditur, a

ought surely to have known that the *Gymnosophists*, and PYTHAGORAS himself, were every night lulled to sleep with the pleasing sound of instruments.

THE care MÆCENAS took to recover his health, could not secure him; he died in *August* the year of *Rome* 744, in the twentieth year of AUGUSTUS's reign, counting from the day upon which he was declared sovereign of the world; and eight years before the birth of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. We cannot precisely determine concerning his age, for we are ignorant as to the year of his birth; PEDO, his panegyrist

luxus & mollitiei infamia: post enim bella, & superatos hostes, fortem ac strenuum imperatorem non dedecere, Liberi patris & Herculis exemplo, voluptatibus animum relaxare.

Girald. de histor. dialog. iv. p. 207.

and

and contemporary, says, he died pretty old, it is more than likely that he lived to be sixty-four, or five at least (e).

THE emperor went constantly to visit him during his sickness, and was present when he breathed his last. In his dying moments he recommended his dear HORACE to the prince, “Remember HORATIUS FLACCUS, said he, “as you would MÆCENAS.” A few days before his death he constituted AUGUSTUS sole heir to all his estate, and, excepting some few trifling lega-

(e) SEVERAL passages in PEDO help to prove that MÆCENAS was aged :

Desferam juvenis tristi modo carmine fata :

Sunt etiam merito carmina danda seni.

*Nunc pretium candoris habes, nunc redditus
umbris,*

Te sumus obliti decubuisse senem.

cies, left it to his option, to make such distributions as he pleased amongst his friends. He had no children by TERENTIA (*f*), and in him, the noble race of the ancient *Etrurian* KINGS, became extinct. His ashes were laid in his magnificent gardens, and HORACE, who died in the same year (*g*) was buried

(*f*) SOME were of opinion, that MÆCENAS had a son by TERENTIA, who died young; but this is conjectural only. PEDO might lament the loss of some other youth.

(*g*) TURNEBUS will have it, that HORACE died before MÆCENAS, see his *Adv. B. xx.* chap. 2. But this is a mistake; and SUTTON, in his life of this poet, asserts the contrary. MÆCENAS recommended him with his dying words to the emperor: “Horatii Facci, ut
“mei, esto memor.” HORACE loved his MÆCENAS so tenderly as to wish to accompany him even in death:

Nec Diis amicum est, nec mihi, te prius

Obire, Mæcenæ, mearum

Grande decus columénque rerum:

the

by the dear remains of his patron and benefactor.

THE death of MÆCENAS was an irreparable loss to AUGUSTUS. It de-

Ab te meæ si partem animæ rapit

Maturior vis: quid moror altera?

Nec charus æquè, nec superstes

Integer: ille dies utramque

Ducet ruinam.

B. ii. Ode xvii.

Why will MÆCENAS thus complain,
And kill me with th' unkindly strain?
Nor can the Gods nor I consent,
That you, my life's great ornament,
Should sink untimely to the tomb,
While I survive the fatal doom.
Should you, alas, be snatch'd away,
Wherefore, ah! wherefore should I stay,
My value lost no longer whole,
And but possessing half my soul?
One day, believe the sacred oath,
Shall lead the fun'ral pomp of both.

FRANCIS.

He survived his benefactor but three months, and died the 27th of *November*, the year of *Rome* 745, at the age of fifty-nine. MÆCENAS died the *August* before. It was in this year that AUGUSTUS called the sixth month by his name, which had been before styled *SEXTILIS*.

prived him at once of a very able and a most penetrating *minister*, a trusty *confident*, a sincere and disinterested friend. Never was favourite more attached to his prince. He was so highly in his master's affection and confidence, that he could, without incurring his displeasure, charge him home with all his faults, and oppose him in his sentiments whenever they were inconsistent with his honour and interest. In attending to the advice of his judicious friend, AUGUSTUS gained the love of the *Romans*; and he very shortly after felt the loss he had sustained in such a minister and counsellor: For notwithstanding the politics which he so much plumed himself upon, he committed frequent errors. Having once inconsiderately in the public senate-house, declaimed
against

against the misconduct of his daughters (b), and reflecting afterwards on his imprudence in publishing their infamy, which but retorted shame upon himself, “I should not, said he, have done this, “had my friends AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS been living (i).” So difficult was

(b) Horum nihil mihi accidisset, si aut AGRIPPA aut MÆCENAS vixisset. Sen. de ben. vi. 32.

(i) AUGUSTUS ought to have taken the wise steps of his great-uncle in a case nearly parallel. JULIUS CÆSAR being called upon to give evidence against CLODIUS his wife’s gallant, whom he had divorced, denied his knowledge of any criminal conversation between them, though his mother AURELIA and his sister JULIA deposed the truth before the judges; and when he was asked, why then had he put away his wife? “It is not, replied CÆSAR, sufficient that my “wife should be guiltless, but it is even necessary she should conduct herself so, as not to “be suspected”; quoniam meos tam suspicione, quam ex mine judico carere oportere. SÆTON. *Life of Jul.* chap. 74.—ὅτι τῇ Καίσαρος γυναίκα καὶ διαβολῆς δεῖ καθαράν εἶναι. PLUTARCH.

it to repair the loss of *two men only*, though he had millions under his obedience: His legions, says SENECA (*k*), being cut to pieces, he recruited his troops; his fleet, destroyed by storms, was soon refitted; public edifices, consumed by flames, were rebuilt with greater magnificence; but he could never find two men like AGRIPPA and MÆCENAS, capable of discharging the places with which they had been entrusted with equal integrity, honor, and ability.

NOR was MÆCENAS less regretted by the *Literati*; they never had so generous a patron: He anticipated their wants, and loaded them with favours; but his bounties were bestowed ratio-

(*k*) SENECA *De benef.* B. vi. chap. 30.

nally and judiciously on persons whose talents and abilities deserved his generous attention. To HIM and to his noble *disposition*, we owe those inestimable works, which, though few, make us the more regret the rest, which the frequent revolutions in the *Roman* empire, and the barbarism of the succeeding ages of ignorance and blind enthusiasm, have so unfortunately robb'd us of. But for him VIRGIL, oppressed by ARIUS the centurion, had never tuned his lyre (l);

(l) JUVENAL, in his viith Satire, shews how necessary a patron is to the Muses :

*Magnæ mentis opus, nec de lodice paranda
Attonitæ, currus & equos, faciesque Deorum
Aspicere, & qualis Rutulum confundat Erinny.
Nam si Virgilio puer, & tolerabile desit
Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydris :
Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina.*

'Tis not for hungry wit, with wants controul'd,
The face of JOVE in council to behold :

nor

nor HORACE raised his voice. MÆCENAS was not content with protecting them, but he introduced these great men himself to his prince also, and recommended them, as persons deserving of his notice and royal munificence. MÆCENAS had a great and generous way of thinking, and (far unlike those envious courtiers, who swell at every little favour bestowed on any but themselves) was never jealous when others had a free access to the emperor.

HAVING given a detail of all the excellent virtues and valuable quali-

Or fierce ALECTO, when her brand she tofs'd
Betwixt the *Trojan* and *Rutilian* host.
If VIRGIL's suit MÆCENAS had not sped,
And sent ALEXIS to the poet's bed,
The crested snakes had dropt upon the ground,
And the loud trumpet languish'd in the sound.
CHARLES DRYDEN.

cations of my *Hero*; it will not be improper just to mention a few of the faults that are imputed to him: That accuracy and truth, which is required in an historian, oblige me not to be wholly silent upon that subject. SENECA, who was by no means an admirer of MÆCENAS, charges him with having been too expensive in his buildings and furniture, too profuse in his table, too extravagant in his dress: he taxes him with effeminacy, and affectation in his walk, and that he had appeared in public without his fash (*m*), attended by two eunuchs; he

(*m*) THE *Romans* wore a girdle, and tucked up their robes, when they walked or were in action. Those who wore them loose and training, were accounted fops and effeminate. For this reason they used to call brave men *cincti*, and cowards were distinguished by the name of *discincti*. MÆCENAS was above all these reflections

blames him for his continual altercations with his wife TERENTIA. He has been also charged with giving too much countenance to players and

tions. SENECA, in his cxivth epistle, doth not forget to reproach him with this, and blames him for having even given into it, while he was regent in AUGUSTUS's absence; and farther, because he permitted two eunuchs to attend him abroad, and administered justice, and harangued the people in the tribunal, his head all the time covered with a cloak. This philosopher however is too nice. Justice was not the worse administered, nor *Rome* the less tranquil. MÆCENAS might probably be obliged to take these necessary precautions upon account of his weak constitution. SENECA himself allows that he was of a sweet, humane, and modest disposition, and had every essential qualification which constitutes the honest man. MÆCENAS had his envious contemporaries, who were used to censure his conduct. PEDO, in his *Epicedium*, answers one of them in the following manner:

Invide, quid tandem tunicæ nocuere solutæ?

Aut tibi ventosi quid nocuere sinus?

Num minus urbis erat custos, & Cæsaris obses?

Num tibi non tutas fecit in urbe vias?

Nocte sub obscurâ quis te spoliavit amantem?

Quis tetigit ferro, durior ipse, latus?

dancers,

dancers, and for suffering (n) parasites to follow him continually wherever he

(n) THE reproach with which MÆCENAS is branded for encouraging parasites, is owing to a letter from AUGUSTUS to him, as mentioned by SÆTONIUS: Ante ipse sufficiebam scribendis epistolis amicorum: nunc occupatissimus & infirmus. Horatium nostrum te cupio adducere. Veniet igitur ab istâ parasiticâ mensâ ad hanc regiam, & nos in epistolis scribendis adjuvabit.—This sort of vermin, says HORACE B. ii. Sat. viii. followed MÆCENAS. He is describing the entertainment given by NASIDIENUS, where he attended MÆCENAS, who brought SERVILIUS and VIBIDIUS along with him,

Quos Mæcenas adduxerat umbras.

We cannot suppose MÆCENAS made a practice of encouraging such gentry, they were probably a brace of impertinents, who were determined to haunt him in spite of himself; and this is the more credible, if we recollect what HORACE says of MÆCENAS' nicety in the choice of his friends and their abilities; HORACE would otherwise be guilty of a contradiction.

SUIDAS relates a story of an impudent piece of flattery played off by JORTUS, an importunate fellow, who, no doubt, pushed himself in at this minister's table. The ancients used tables of different shapes and forms, either long, round, or semicircular. The round table was most in

went,

went, though uninvited, as shadows which are inseparable from the body. He has even been ridiculed for his unlimited passion for precious stones and pearls. Envy ever attends the great. Most of these imputations are frivolous and idle, and have no foundation but in the brains of these *cavilists*. SENECA was a crabbed and an austere *Stoic*, an insolent enemy of EPICURUS, and enlarged objects as

vogue, either that they thought this form the most perfect of any, or because it made all places alike without any distinction among the guests. MÆCENAS having, contrary to his custom, ordered one of an angular make, which for grandeur as well as costliness was equal to any others he was possessed of, the company could not but admire it, and many smart and witty things were said upon that occasion. JORTIUS, at a loss to acquit himself, said, “ Gentlemen, you do not observe one thing, that this table is a perfect circle :” ΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΔΕ ΣΚΕΥΝΟΕΙΤΕ, Ω ΦΙΛΟΙ ΣΥΜΠΟΤΑΙ, ΩΣ ΤΡΟΓΥΛΗ ΕΣΤΙΝ Η ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ, ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΝ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΗΣ. SUID. dict. Artic. Ιορτιος.

they

they best suited his humour. The severity of this philosopher imputed it even as a crime in MÆCENAS, to be fond of life (o); a fondness, I think, very natural to all men, and to those especially, who have a true relish for it, and who in this great scene of action, can perform their parts as well as MÆCENAS did.

BUT he is branded with other faults of a more serious nature. He is accused, as we have already observed, of an unbridled love for the ladies; he

(o) It did not become SENECA to blame MÆCENAS for being sumptuous and fond of life. This philosopher's house, who was the richest man of the whole *Roman* empire, was most magnificently furnished; it contained above three hundred three-footed tables made of cedar, on which he was used to eat and entertain his friends.

was

was not however confined to these sort of gallantries only, for, if we may credit TACITUS, he had quite a different and more detestable passion (*p*). The corrupted morals of the age he lived in, supported by the example of the Pagan deities, can no way justify him in this particular. As to effeminacy with which he is so greatly charged, he never sunk into it so far, says VELLEIUS, as to forget his duty. His actions are a confirmation of his vigilance; he never slept, when business

(*p*) TACITUS, in his first book of *Annals*, c. liv. speaks of an unnatural passion which MÆCENAS indulged: *Ludos Augustales tunc primum cœpta turbavit discordia, ex certamine histrionum. Indulserat ei ludicro Augustus, dum Mæcenati obtemperat effuso in amorem Bathylli*: Which is the more unlikely, as SENECA, who never spares MÆCENAS, does not so much as mention one syllable of this unnatural crime.

demanding his attention (q). Ever active and discerning, he very judiciously foresaw, and therefore knew how to conduct himself in affairs of the greatest moment : He took an uncommon satisfaction in employing every opportunity offered, in which he could either serve the public, or be of use to his friends and adherents. We have now nothing more to add to complete his picture, but his veneration for the *Gods*. The advice he gave his prince, and which history has still preserved to us, evi-

(q) CORNELIUS NEPOS and PLUTARCH, in the life of ALCIBIADES, have given us the example of an illustrious *Athenian*, whereby it is plain that luxury and effeminacy are not incompatible with activity and bravery. Vir, says VELLEIUS, speaking of MÆCENAS, ubi res vigiliam exigeret, sane exsomnia, providens atque agendi sciens ; simul vero aliquid ex negotio remitti posset, otio ac mollitiis pene ultra foeminam fluens.

L

dently

dently declares his sentiments on this point. He exhorts AUGUSTUS to reverence the *Gods*, according to the then established faith; to oblige the people to a strict observance of the same; never to tolerate impostors, and the enemies of religion; and farther added, “that we can do nothing great and good, “if we despise the *Gods*.”

SUCH was the illustrious MÆCENAS, Considered as a MINISTER, he was *upright* and *disinterested*; as an OFFICER of JUSTICE, he was *vigilant* and *impartial*; as a friend, *constant* and *sincere*; in private and domestic life, he was *good-natured*, *humane*, and *generous*; he was a SCHOLAR, an ORATOR, and a SOLDIER.

THUS

THUS with *as many great good qualities* and *as few bad ones* as could ever be united in one man, did MÆCENAS engage the love and universal esteem of mankind.

HIS name is so honourable, that the greatest protectors of learning have ever been proud to be dignified with it—but how often has this title been misapplied! How frequently have men of sordid and servile dispositions prostituted it on persons, who, from a vain affectation to be thought the patrons of learning, have only rendered themselves more ridiculous, by assuming a character they so little merited! MÆCENAS, with the strong glow of unbounded generosity, cherished the arts and sciences, which flourished so happily in his days,

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and

and have since been the ornament of all polite nations.— *His name* will be as immortal as those arts and sciences of which he was the NOBLE and GENEROUS PROTECTOR.

F I N I S.

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Schomberg, Ralph

The life of Maecenas

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